The Outlook

DECEMBER 29, 1915

Offices, 381 Fourth Avenue, New York

THE STORY OF THE WAR:
A WEEK THAT MARKS AN EPOCH

The week December 15–22, 1915, will go down as an important epoch in the history of this war, and particularly in the history of England's part in the war, for it was marked by two decisive shifts in the British strategy; namely, the substitution of Sir Douglas Haig for Sir John French as Commander-in-Chief of the British forces in France and Belgium, and the practical abandonment of the attempt to force the Dardanelles. The withdrawal of 100,000 men from the Suvla Bay and Anzac positions on the Gallipoli Peninsula is generally hailed by military critics as a relinquishment of the campaign against Constantinople, although there has been no official announcement to this effect as we go to press, and although the positions at Sedd-el-Bahr are to be held by the allied forces afloat and ashore. But surely the voluntary abandonment of most of the foothold that was gained at the cost of about 100,000 lives and five ships to the British alone means that the Allies have definitely abandoned the hope of reaching the capital of the Turk through the historic straits or along their shores. This step is the open acknowledgment of a failure which has been apparent for months; and the feeling of the British public seems to be one of relief tinged with regret. There is nothing to be gained by the Allies in attempting to minimize the gravity of the defeat of this expedition. The failure of the principal undertaking against the Turk will, first of all, discourage the Russians, for whose benefit primarily it was begun, but it will be as well a severe blow to the prestige of the Allies among all the Balkan, Asiatic, and African races whose support they want to hold or gain.

The report that the Russians have captured Varna, one of the principal Bulgarian ports on the Black Sea, has not been officially confirmed as The Outlook goes to press. The landing of a large force of Russians at Varna, threatening the Bulgarians in the rear, would materially brighten the prospects of the Allies in the Balkans. But it is noteworthy in this connection that in an interview with a staff correspondent of The Outlook, published last week, Sergius Sazonoff, the Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs, speaking of similar reports of a Russian landing at Varna, said: "I don't believe there will be a direct invasion of Bulgaria; certainly not on her coast line, where the natural difficulties are tremendous." However, Sazonoff added: "But the Balkans are no longer in the zone of diplomacy, and you should seek such information, not from me, but from the military authorities."

As this is written nothing is known of the destination of the force of one hundred thousand, the withdrawal of which from Gallipoli was accomplished, according to the British War Office, with total casualties of only three men wounded. The force of a hundred thousand may be transferred to Egypt, where the Suez Canal has been threatened, or to Greece, where the second great undertaking of the Allies in the east seems on the verge of utter rout. Of course the main purpose of the Balkan expedition of the Allies failed when the Servian army was driven from Servia and isolated from its would-be rescuers; but for the latter themselves to be swept out of Greece into the sea would mean a loss of prestige such as they have not yet sustained even at the Dardanelles, and would seem to mean the obliteration of all hope of Greek or Rumanian support. Therefore the most likely destination of the Gallipoli army would seem to be Salonika, where there is yet honor to be saved for the Allies even in the face of what is already a great victory for German arms.

ENGLAND "TOO LATE"

That the defeats of the expeditions against Bagdad, against Constantinople, and against the enemy in the Balkans have aroused Great Britain as nothing before is indicated in several ways. The British papers are full of warnings to the nation, and the House of Commons, after an all-night argument, adopted

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Mr. Asquith's bill calling 1,000,000 more men to the flag, a step that will give England an army of about 4,000,000, the greatest she has ever had. Telling the House of Commons that "the whole question depends on organized labor," and that he must have 80,000 skilled and from 200,000 to 300,000 unskilled workers for new munitions factories, the Rt. Hon. David Lloyd George, Minister of Munitions, sounded the following alarm, which the British papers have taken up and re-echoed through the country:

"We have been too late in this, too late in that, too late in arriving at decisions, too late in starting this enterprise or that adventure. The footsteps of the Allies have been dogged by the mocking specter of too late. Let not 'Too Late' be inscribed on the portals of our workshops."

SIR DOUGLAS HAIG FOR SIR JOHN FRENCH

The removal of Sir John French is another indication that England is dissatisfied with the way her war on land has been conducted. In the retreat from Mons, when "French's contemptible little army" stood off a force of from four to six times its own strength, and in the maneuver from the Aisne to Lys, which stopped the German reach for Calais, Sir John French came up to all that his brilliant work as a cavalry commander in the Boer War led his friends to expect of him. As a corps commander his reputation is undimmed. But as a strategist, directing large bodies of men over a wide area, through the unique difficulties presented by modern trench warfare, Sir John has been a disappointment. As an appreciation of his undoubted abilities, however, he has been made a Viscount and has been appointed Commander-in-Chief of the troops stationed in the United Kingdom.

The appointment of Sir Douglas Haig comes as no surprise to those who have been carefully reading official reports of fighting in France and Flanders. Raised to the rank of general in November, 1914, for distinguished service in the field, Sir Douglas Haig, as commander of the First Army of the Continental expedition, has been frequently lauded in the despatches of the man whom he now succeeds. In particular, he rendered conspicuous services when the British were aiding the French in driving the Germans from the Marne across the Aisne. In reporting the operations of September 14, 1914, Sir John French said: "The action of the First Corps on this day under the command of Sir Douglas Haig was of so skillful, bold, and decisive a character that he gained positions which have enabled me to maintain my position for more than three weeks on the north bank of the Aisne River. . . . Throughout the Battle of the Aisne this advanced and commanding position was maintained, and I cannot speak too highly of the valuable services rendered by Sir Douglas Haig and the Army Corps under his command."

Like Sir John French, Sir Douglas Haig (whose portrait appears on another page) made a reputation for himself in the Boer War. In fact, this reputation was largely gained when, as Major Haig, he was chief of staff to Colonel French in the operations around Colesberg, which paved the way for Lord Roberts's advance. In an interesting appreciation of Sir Douglas in the London "Chronicle" it is said: "Before the war he had never commanded in action anything larger than a regiment; in maneuvers never anything larger than a division. At the Aisne he commanded a corps, and now he commands an army, and as his responsibilities increase so do his praises grow."

THE WELLAND CANAL PLOT

Another plot by German agents to injure the Allies while infringing upon American neutrality seems to have been frustrated by the arrest of four men charged with complicity in a conspiracy to wreck the Welland Canal. This canal joins Lake Erie with Lake Ontario and connects the heart of Canada with the mother country by an all-water route comprising, besides the Canal, the Great Lakes, the St. Lawrence River, and the Atlantic Ocean. Paul Koenig, Chief of Police of the Hamburg-American Line, is the chief figure mentioned in the complaint which was the basis for the issuance of warrants to the agents of the Department of Justice, who have been trailing Koenig and his associates since September. Arrested with him in the conspiracy, which is described in the complaint as "a military enterprise to be conducted from the United States against the Dominion of Canada," were a recently naturalized citizen named R. E. Leyendecker, a clerk of the National City Bank of New York named Frederick Scheindl, who is alleged to have given Koenig information as to certain business transactions of the allied Governments, and a man named Fred Metz-

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ler. Metzler turned State's evidence in testifying against his associates before the Grand Jury. Koenig, Leyendecker, and Scheindl were held for the Grand Jury, Koenig in $50,000 bail and the other two in bail of $25,000 each. A veteran on the New York police force who is also suspected of assisting Koenig, but only in a minor way, is suspended from the force under charges from his Commissioner.

The evidence unearthed by the tireless detectives who ran down the Hamburg-American Chief of Police tends to show that he had at his disposal generous funds and an office staff of thirty persons, and indicates that he stood high in the opinion of the diplomats of the Central Powers, in the interest of which he planned to hinder the shipment of supplies from Canada to England by blowing up vulnerable parts of the Welland Canal.

There is enough here alleged to afford one more proof of the necessity of guarding American citizenship jealously, making it a prize which should be earned by merit rather than a gift to be granted wholesale to strangers.

THE ANCONA CORRESPONDENCE

As the days pass there is little to relax the tension between the Government of Austria-Hungary and the Government of the United States occasioned by the sinking of the steamship Ancona and the consequent loss of American lives.

The protest which this country sent to Austria was the sharpest note that this country has despatched concerning the lawlessness of submarine warfare as carried on by Germany and Austria. To that note Austria sent a reply, dated December 15, which was made public on December 18. It is virtually an attempt to prolong the discussion. In it Austria says that she expects that the United States "should precisely specify the actual circumstances" on which it bases its demands for reparation and for the punishment of the offending naval officer. Austria notes that the Government of the United States has "failed to designate the persons upon whose testimony it relies and to whom it apparently believes it may attribute a higher degree of credibility than the commander of the Imperial and Royal Fleet;" and that it also fails to inform Austria "as to the number, names, and more precise fate of the American citizens" on board the Ancona. Austria expresses her willingness "to enter into an exchange of views in the affair." She asks the United States Government to explain why it "referred to an exchange of correspondence which it has conducted with another government in other cases" (namely, the series of notes exchanged with Germany), and declares that she "by no means possesses authentic knowledge of all of the pertinent correspondence." She also asks "the Washington Cabinet to formulate the particular points of law" alleged to have been broken. In conclusion, Austria "sincerely deplores the fate of the innocent victims of the incident in question."

To that reply Secretary Lansing despatched a rejoinder which was made public on Wednesday of last week. In his note he calls attention to the fact that the Austrian Chargé d'Affaires submitted to the American Department of State a report in which "it was admitted that the vessel was torpedoed after her engines had been stopped and when passengers were still on board." This, says Secretary Lansing, is "sufficient to fix upon the commander of the submarine which fired the torpedo the responsibility for willfully having violated the recognized law of nations and entirely disregarded those humane principles which every belligerent should observe in the conduct of war at sea." On the basis of Austria's own report, therefore, says Secretary Lansing, "the culpability of the commander is in any case established, and the undisputed fact is that citizens of the United States were killed, injured, or put in jeopardy by his lawless act." He makes it known to Austria that "the United States does not feel called upon to debate" the rules of law and the principles of humanity which were thus violated. Secretary Lansing therefore renews the demands of the United States.

It is evident that the Administration recognizes that the people of the United States are not as patient as they were with extended correspondence about those piratical acts which, beginning with the destruction of the Falaba and resulting in the inhuman crime against the Lusitania, were continued month after month. Meantime, no settlement has been made with reference to the case of the Lusitania, and the people of the United States are wondering why the United States Government should not be as emphatic and insistent in its dealings with Germany, the

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greater and more deliberate offender, as with Austria.

THE MARRIAGE OF THE PRESIDENT

On December 18 the President of the United States, Woodrow Wilson, and Mrs. Edith Bolling Galt were married at Washington. On the same day the President's granddaughter, named for her grandmother, the President's first wife, who died a year ago last August, was christened in the White House. Unlike President Cleveland's wedding, which occurred during his Administration, President Wilson's wedding did not take place in the White House, but in the home of the bride.

The ceremony was marked with great simplicity. The guests present consisted only of near relatives and connections and intimate friends.

Coming at a time of tenseness in the international relations of the United States, the absence of elaborate ceremony was particularly appropriate. The President and his wife left at once quietly for a brief sojourn at Hot Springs, Virginia. The avoidance of publicity there as well as of display at the time of the wedding is a lesson in good taste to all Americans.

SECRETARY DANIELS'S REPORT

The report of the Secretary of the Navy was made public on December 14. The report of the General Board of the Navy was not made public until December 22. Upon the question of fundamental naval policy the General Board says:

> The navy of the United States should ultimately be equal to the most powerful maintained by any other nation of the world. It should be gradually increased to this point by such a rate of development year by year as may be permitted by the facilities of the country, but the limit above defined should be attained not later than 1925.
>
> The General Board believes that the course of the present war in Europe affords convincing reasons for modifying the opinion which it has expressed for the past eleven years as to the proper size of the navy. A navy in firm control of the seas from the outbreak of the war is the prime essential to the defense of a country situated as is the United States, bordering upon two great oceans. A navy strong enough only to defend our coast from actual invasion will not suffice. Defense from invasion is not the only function of the navy. It must protect our sea-borne commerce and drive that of the enemy from the sea. The best way to accomplish all these objects is to find and defeat the hostile fleet, or any of its detachments, at a distance from our coast sufficiently great to prevent interruption of our normal course of National life.

The Administration obviously does not intend to follow the General Board's policy; and we are persuaded that in making this decision the civil Government is wisely exercising its rightful prerogative.

Upon comparing the General Board's statement of policy, however, with its recommendations for construction, it is seen at once that the number of ships asked for is by no means sufficient to place the United States navy in the position in relation to the other navies of the world which the General Board deems necessary for our National safety. It is doubtful whether the construction recommended will even restore us to the position of second naval Power, which we once held. A careful reading of the General Board's report discloses the fact that the General Board was not asked by the Secretary to outline the building programme demanded by its announced opinion, but to draw up a programme which "will continue for a period of five years with an expenditure of about $100,000,000 each year for five years on new construction only." This is what has been called Secretary Daniels's "Five-Hundred-Million-Dollar Programme."

Accepting the limitation of the Secretary's request, the General Board recommends that of this $500,000,000 appropriation $96,792,500 should be expended in the first year towards the construction of four dreadnoughts, three battle cruisers, four scouts, ten destroyers, two fleet submarines, twenty coast submarines, four auxiliary vessels, two river gunboats, air-craft, and reserve ammunition. The Secretary (for work to be initiated in 1917) actually recommends an expenditure of but $67,003,000 to be used in the construction of two dreadnoughts, two battle cruisers, three scout cruisers, fifteen destroyers, five fleet submarines, twenty-five coast submarines, two gunboats, and one auxiliary vessel, air-craft, and reserve ammunition.

The recommendations of the General Board were made with a view to providing the most needed ships at the earliest dates. It appears that the Secretary has not accepted the expert recommendations of the General Board

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concerning the manner in which the sum allotted to the navy by the present Administration should be expended. Many question the competency of our army and navy experts to tell the people of the United States how much they need in the way of armament, but few should question the wisdom of letting our experts determine how the sums provided by the civil Government should be used.

The most encouraging part of the Secretary's report is contained in his apparent adherence to the policy of a continuing programme of naval construction. If such a policy is to succeed, however, it must in the future be presented without the apparent confusion of thought and purpose manifested in the present report of the Secretary of the Navy.

THE FAREWELL OF FRANCISCO VILLA

Latin-American dictators, like prima donnas, have a fondness for farewells, of which the public must be wary. It will not do, therefore, to accept too readily reports of the passing of Francisco Villa from the stage on which he has played so melodramatic a part for some three years, despite the recent publication of his serio-comic farewell address. Reports that Villa has taken the field again with a small force of experienced "bushwhackers" conflict with other reports that he and Carranza have adjusted their difficulties and that Villa will come to the United States, the country to whose intervention he ascribes his ruin.

Villa's farewell address is marked by all the picturesque language which has characterized his other speeches since the early tutoring which he received from an astute American newspaper man. It is full of picturesque and pathetic avowals that the great "Don Pancho" is thoroughly beaten and knows it, interlarded with subtle hints that the man who eliminated Huerta from the Mexican drama will be waiting in the wings for a call to return to the stage, if ever a part of prominence is offered him.

Nevertheless, the appointment of Henry Prather Fletcher as Ambassador to Mexico is a step towards the preservation of order in that unfortunate Republic and toward the restoration of some degree of the much-damaged prestige of the United States in Mexico. Mr. Fletcher, who was born in Greencastle, Pennsylvania, in 1873, and who was a Rough Rider in the Spanish-American War under Colonel Roosevelt, has made the diplomatic service his profession since 1902, when President Roosevelt appointed him second secretary of the American Legation at Havana. He has since been secretary of the Legations at Peking and Lisbon, and successively Chargé d'Affaires, Minister, and Ambassador to Chile, a post in which he has been continued by President Wilson, although Mr. Fletcher is a Republican.

Mr. Fletcher has given evidence in the past of the possession of force, tact, and discretion combined to a high degree, and the Administration is to be congratulated on the appointment of a man of his abilities to the difficult and delicate position at Mexico City.

PEACE AND INTERNATIONAL LAW

The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace has just issued in English and Spanish editions the report of Mr. Robert Bacon of the journey to South America which he made in the fall of 1913 as the representative of the Endowment. Mr. Bacon's mission and its results were described in The Outlook soon after Mr. Bacon returned.

Just now, when all the world is talking of peace, and probably more than half the world is skeptical as to whether such a state as enduring peace among nations may ever be brought about, this report is extremely timely, for it is a very succinct but complete exposition of the methods by which the trustees of the Carnegie Endowment hope to bring about the results to achieve which the ten-million-dollar trust was founded. Briefly, then, we learn that the Endowment works along three lines: one historical, which embraces the collection of statistics regarding wars and treaties; the second social, which includes the visits of representative men and the dissemination of knowledge of one another among civilized peoples; and the third scientific, which plans a broad structure of international law as the base upon which all enduring relations between nations must rest. Just as there is a tendency now to scoff at peace, so is there a disposition, even in diplomatic and official circles, to proclaim that international law is a dead letter that has failed because there was no force to compel its observance. It is true, however, that never in any war the world has known has so much been said of international law, never were its principles so generally recognized, even though not observed, and never were nations

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when guilty of a breach of the law of nations so eager to argue, excuse, or palliate the breach.

As set forth in Mr. Bacon's report, the contention of the trustees of the Carnegie Endowment, of which ex-Senator Elihu Root is President, is that law must supply the common standard for the conduct of nations. This is true of individuals; it is the foundational safeguard of society, and it must apply as well to governments and peoples. The laws of nations must be formulated, agreed upon, and codified. It is in this direction that the Endowment discloses a scientific, thorough, and systematic plan for the future, such as one would expect of a Board of Trustees of which Mr. Root is the head. The Institute of International Law has existed in Europe only since 1873, but it has the adherence of the leading publicists and jurisconsults of the world, and to it more than any other single factor is due, without doubt, the prevailing general consideration given to international law. About three years ago the American Institute of International Law, with Mr. Root and Dr. James Brown Scott at the head, was organized to perform a similar service in this hemisphere. National societies already exist in all of the principal Latin-American states. It is through these Institutes, supported by an Academy of International Law at The Hague, and a Permanent Court of International Justice, that the laws of nations may become formulated and adopted.

The programme outlined is not for the peace of to-morrow, nor is it expected that it will be realized in a single generation. It looks far to the future, and plans for a real and reasonable peace upon which nations can rely in security, because it is founded not upon sentiment or compacts, but upon the enduring basis of law.

It is true that law to be valid must be enforced. This is as true of international law as of any other kind. The fact, however, that the means for enforcing international law are at present inadequate is no ground for discarding it, but rather a reason urging both a regard for its principles and an attempt to find an effective way to make it respected and observed.

MISS KELLER ON THE WAR

Last week Miss Helen Keller made an address before the Labor Forum of New York City on "Militarism and the Workers." Miss Keller is a distinguished American not merely because, despite total blindness and deafness, she has achieved literary and intellectual accomplishments of a high order, but because she is well entitled to be called one of the leaders in the great humanitarian endeavors of the day. The Outlook shares in the general admiration of her personality, character, and spirit. It therefore regrets that it must totally dissent from the views which she expressed in the above-mentioned address. She appears to believe that the European war is wholly a "capitalistic war." She asserted that the movement for National defense is wholly a capitalistic movement, and is reported to have said in support of her assertion that the firm of Messrs. J. P. Morgan & Co. had created the agitation for their own selfish interests. Not even Helen Keller has a right to make such an accusation without at least endeavoring to present some concrete evidence to support it. Such sweeping unsubstantiated allegations greatly weaken her influence, for even the capitalist is entitled to justice and to demand the evidence on which he is condemned as an enemy of mankind.

It is not, however, Miss Keller's errors of language and emotion which we most deplore. We think her fundamental philosophy is erroneous. She said:

> Let no workingman join the army that is to be organized by order of Congress. . . . No conqueror will beat down his wages and wreck his unions more ruthlessly than his own fellow-citizens of the capitalist class are doing. Nor will a union of the capitalists of the world be able to oppress him more than the masters of his own country have done.

In other words, democracy has done nothing in the United States. We have no political or social philosophy which differentiates us from the military autocracies of Europe. We have no institutions the fruits of which millions have come across the ocean to enjoy. A free press, free schools, and a free church mean nothing. We have nothing to defend, for "if this country were conquered by a foreign foe the workingmen could not be worse off than they are now."

If this is really Helen Keller's view, we believe she is as recreant to the welfare of her country as she believes Messrs. J. P. Morgan & Co. to be. Our fathers won for us at great cost religious and civil liberty on this continent. We shall not win industrial liberty by indifference to those who fight here to maintain, or in other lands to win, for themselves and their children the

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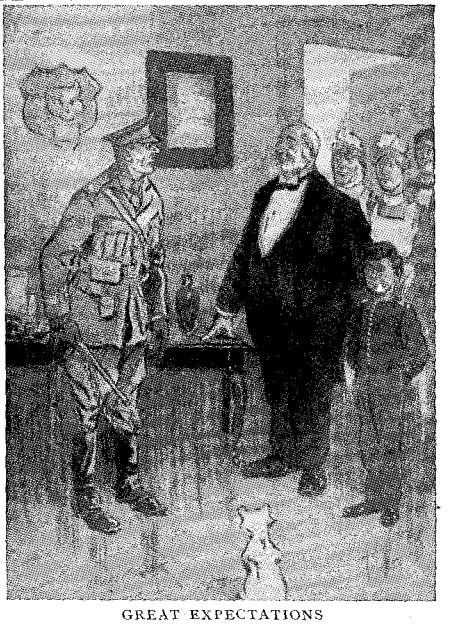
CARTOONS OF THE WEEK

James Montgomery Flagg in Judge

THE BEST IN THE BAG FOR YOU

IT MAY BE ACCEPTED NEXT CHRISTMAS!

From the Bystander (London)



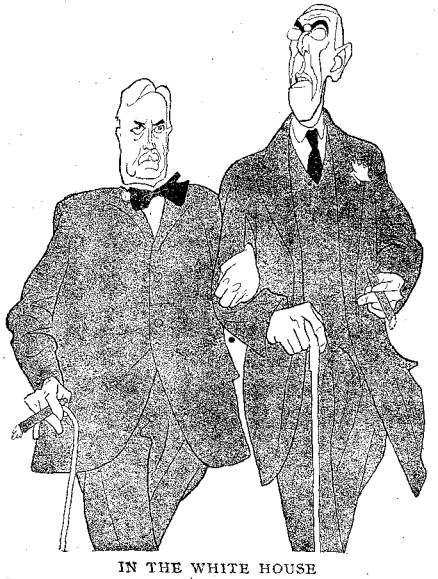
GREAT EXPECTATIONS

Major (bidding farewell to "downstairs"): "Take care of 'em all, Mathews, till I come back."

Mathews (wishing to say the right thing): "I will, sir—an' you can rest assured, sir, that though absent you will be always with us; we shall watch the Roll of Honor daily for your honored name."

THE BUTLER FORGOT THAT THE ROLL OF HONOR IS THE LIST OF THE DEAD

From Simplicissimus (Munich)



IN THE WHITE HOUSE

"Yes, Mr. Lansing, whether the Turks committed the Armenian atrocities is doubtful; but the sad part of it is that, if they did, American munitions were not used!"

GERMANY THINKS AMERICA'S ONLY INTERESTS ARE MERCENARY ONES

Robert Carter in the New York Evening Sun

"WE SHOULD WORRY!"

THE TWO KAISERS AND THE ANCONA

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From Punch (London)

THE PROMISE OF WINTER

Russia: "My season, I think."

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religious and political liberty which our fathers won for us. We shall win industrial liberty by maintaining, at whatever sacrifice of life and blood may be necessary, religious and political liberty against all assailants. From the vantage-ground of that victory we can best go on to secure the extension of liberty to industrial vocations.

PHILADELPHIA'S LOST OPPORTUNITY

We print on another page an article entitled "Philadelphia's Strabismus" by George W. Norris. Mr Norris is a well-known and successful business man of Philadelphia who went into the municipal service from a sense of civic duty. We do not wonder that he deplores the fact that the people of Philadelphia have transferred their government from a platform of efficiency to a platform of partisanship. It is true that the new Mayor, who is taking office, may disappoint the "machine" disagreeably and the efficiency party agreeably. That is, however, not the way that a change from non-partisanship to partisanship in municipal government generally works. For example, Morris Llewellyn Cooke, the Director of Public Works under the Blankenburg administration, is leaving office. Mr. Cooke is an engineer, and not a politician in the popularly accepted sense of that word. His report to the Mayor issued last autumn, an illustrated pamphlet of one hundred and eight pages, is really not a public document, but a delightful story of modern business methods applied to municipal administration. It is a "house organ," so to speak, like the periodicals which so many corporations are now printing for the information and inspiration of their employees and stockholders.

In a little preface to the report Mr. Cooke urges those who receive it to at least look at the pictures. That the citizens of Philadelphia did look at them is indicated by the fact that the first edition of the report was completely exhausted and a second edition had to be printed. Any city official who has journalistic training or sagacity, and who believes that he is administering a business for the benefit of the stockholders—the taxpayers being the stockholders—can make his reports humanly interesting in the same way. For no business is more human than that of making a city fit and comfortable to live in.

Mr. Cooke's report relates that his department offered prizes for the best account of real achievements in the department for the benefit of the city during the three years of the administration. We find that the second prize in Class A was awarded to Joseph Herrmann, a laborer in the Bureau of City Property, for submitting two photographs, the first showing a boy at a public square obtaining a drink from a running hydrant and the second showing a workman refreshing himself at one of the new bubbler fountains. The two photographs, labeled "Before and After," are reproduced in the report with the following comment:

> Hundreds of these old-fashioned hydrants are found in city squares. Only a boy knows how to drink from them. Back-breakers and water-wasters!
>
> Modern bubblers have been introduced. They are artistic in design, saving in water, and low enough for even the "lit'lest girl" to get a drink.

This incident may be trifling in itself, but it is big with importance as an indication of the spirit in which a really "efficient administration" can be carried on in any city. Mr. Norris in his article tries to explain why Philadelphia has given up, temporarily at least, this kind of administration. It is a perplexing enigma. Perhaps the most probable basis of solution is the hypothesis that, after all, we are only a lot of grown-up children, subject to occasional fits of temper or quarrelsomeness or jealousy or downright naughtiness and rebellion. These outbursts seem to be an essential part of the growth and development of child life. Perhaps they are also an essential element of progress in the social organism.

TUSKEGEE'S NEW HEAD

Major Robert R. Moton, of Hampton Institute, Hampton, Virginia, has been chosen to succeed the late Dr. Washington as Principal of Tuskegee Institute. The new Principal of Tuskegee is a full-blooded Negro, tracing his ancestry back to an African slave sold to an American in 1735. He was born in 1867, in Amelia County, Virginia, two years after the close of the Civil War. He entered Hampton in 1885, and graduated in 1890. General Armstrong, then head of Hampton Institute, prevailed upon him to remain there as a teacher. He took the position of drill-master and assistant to the Commandant, and within a few months was promoted to succeed his former chief. He

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was a friend and frequent associate of Dr. Washington, working with him in behalf of their race.

From all that we know of Major Moton as an efficient member of the Faculty at Hampton Institute and from all that those who know his work best have said of him, it appears that he is peculiarly fitted for the great task for which he has been chosen. There are few positions in America entailing more responsibility than that of Principal of Tuskegee Institute. In selecting Major Moton for this position the trustees have called him not merely to head a great educational institution, but also in a large measure to become the leader of a race. The traditions which surround the office created by Booker Washington tend to place the man who occupies that office in a position to mediate between the white and black races of this country. If the prestige of Tuskegee is preserved in the future, there will be no man so likely to be listened to both in the North and the South with a minimum of prejudice and a maximum of sympathy as the Negro at its head. It is indeed fortunate that a leader has been chosen schooled both in the ideals of General Armstrong and the traditions of achievement and service established by Booker Washington.

PUBLIC SCHOOL ATHLETICS

If a visitor from Mars had visited Madison Square Garden in New York City on Saturday afternoon, December 18, he would have believed himself to be thrust into the midst of a juvenile bedlam. The chatter, shouts, cheers, and whistling of thousands of boys crowding the great galleries made such a din that his guide, if he had had one, could scarcely have made himself heard in trying to explain that it was the annual athletic meet of the elementary schools of the Boroughs of Manhattan and the Bronx under the direction of the Public Schools Athletic League.

The boys in the galleries and boxes, with a fair sprinkling of their adult friends and relatives, gathered to see several hundred of their schoolmates compete for indoor track and field championships. To judge by appearance, the competitors ranged from ten to sixteen years of age, but they had the air and bearing of trained athletes. They formed in military squads, and, led by the boy band of Public School 21, who, by the way, played like musical veterans, the competitors first marched around the Garden in military evolutions and then faced in parade formation the box containing General Wingate, the President of the Public Schools Athletic League, and his colleagues. There, led by the band, the entire gathering sang "The Star-Spangled Banner" and the athletes went through their impressive and effective salute to the Flag. The spectator who looked over his programme and had observed that ninety per cent of the boys bore foreign names must have been assured by the dramatic salute to the Flag, or "oath of allegiance," which the young athletes fairly roared out, with their right arms and hands stretched out to the emblem of their country, that a deep patriotism does not mean militarism, and that a man does not need to count four or five generations of American ancestors in order to be a first-class American citizen.

The field and track events were of the usual kind, including running, jumping, shot-putting, and the like. That the Public Schools Athletic League has developed some good physiques is shown by the records. The sixty-yard dash in the hundred-pound class, for instance, was won by a boy named Donashefsky, of Public School 62, in the excellent time of seven and three-fifths seconds, against more than sixty competitors. The twelve-pound shot-putting contest was won by A. Kurzman, of Public School 186, with a put of forty feet four and one-half inches, a new record for the League. The running high jump in the eighty-five-pound class was won by E. Benziger, of Public School 42, four feet nine and one-half inches, a new record. The running high jump in the hundred-pound class was won by M. Silverstein, of Public School 46, with five feet three-quarters of an inch, also a new record.

This phase of public school education in New York deserves the support of everybody who believes that a sound body is of the utmost importance in the development of a sound mind.

THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA AND ACADEMIC FREEDOM

An important action in the interest of academic freedom has been taken by the Trustees of the University of Pennsylvania.

When Scott Nearing, of the teaching staff of the Wharton School of the University of Pennsylvania, was virtually dismissed by the

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Trustees of the University last June, The Outlook took occasion to point out that the fitness of a professor for his position is not a question of finance, but a question of educational policy, and, as such, should not be determined by the trustees of the property, but by educational directors.

The reason for this is plain. Whether consciously or not, those who give money for the maintenance of an educational institution are likely to have great weight in the educational policy of that institution, unless that policy is taken out of the hands of those charged with the care of the property and put into the hands of those who are not concerned with financial questions. Academic freedom does not mean limitless license to use one's official position for the furtherance of any cause, but it does mean that considerations extraneous to the real educational purposes of the institution should not determine the official conduct of the members of the Faculty.

This principle is recognized by the action of the Trustees of the University of Pennsylvania taken last week. This action is in the nature of a self-denying ordinance. By the adoption of an amendment to the regulations that govern the University, the Trustees have given to the Faculty a share in the appointment, reappointment, and dismissal of University teachers.

Before any reappointment or promotion is made the Trustees must request a recommendation from that group of instructors with which the individual involved is associated. In the case of the failure of that recommendation being accepted, or in case no recommendation is made, the Trustees will follow their own judgment. Similarly, they are expected to take the advice of the proper group of instructors in reference to original appointments. An exception is made in cases where delay might result in the loss of the services of a man of recognized ability.

Appointments, it is understood, shall cease unless notice of reappointment is made at a prescribed time before the expiration of the term of the teacher. In the case of an instructor this must be in April before the end of the academic year; in the case of an assistant professor, a year before the expiration of that professor's term of office. The omission of a notification of reappointment is thus equivalent to a notification that the teacher will not be reappointed. In the case of removal of a professor or assistant professor, action shall be taken only upon a report from a committee consisting of members of the Trustees and members of the Faculty.

In taking this action, of course, the Trustees are limited by the terms of the charter of the University. It is possible that without those limitations they might have gone even further. As it is, their action deserves the warmest praise. Its influence will extend far beyond the University of Pennsylvania itself.

A CONTROVERSY IN THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH

We have already reported the fact that early in 1916 there will be held in the Republic of Panama a Congress on Christian work in which it is hoped that all Protestant churches of the United States will participate. An unfortunate controversy has arisen in the Protestant Episcopal Church of America over this Congress. The Episcopal Board of Missions at its meeting last spring by a very large majority passed a resolution to send delegates to this Congress, and elected as these delegates seven members of the House of Bishops. Provision was made that invitations to the Congress should be sent to the Roman Catholic as well as to other organized churches, or, in the words of the Mission Board, "to every communion having work in Latin America."

The Panama Congress has been approved by three of the Protestant Episcopal bishops in Latin America, and also by an archbishop of the English Church for the West Indies. Apparently the relation of the American Protestant Episcopal Church to the Congress was satisfactorily arranged, but a group of clergymen representing what is popularly known as the High Church section of the Episcopal Church made a *post facto* protest against the action of the Mission Board. Their view seems to be that the Panama Congress is merely a Protestant body, while the Protestant Episcopal Church in America is not. Their spokesmen have stated that the Panama Congress may perhaps be an affront to the Roman Catholic Church, and, while they themselves are not Roman, they are Catholic, and desire, therefore, to refrain from anything that can endanger a conceivable future reconciliation of the Roman and Anglican branches of the Catholic Church. The so-called Broad Churchmen support the action of the Board of Missions and wish

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their Church to be represented at the Panama Congress. There the matter stands to-day.

IS THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH CATHOLIC OR PROTESTANT?

An appeal has been made to the House of Bishops, a special meeting of which has been called for January 12, and if it sustains the Mission Board the American Protestant Episcopal Church in America will be represented at Panama, although it is strongly contended that the House of Bishops has no jurisdiction in this matter, and the Panama Congress will have taken place before the next meeting of the General Convention. But, in any event, it is probable that some fundamental issue raised by this controversy between the High Church or Catholic party and the Broad Church or Protestant party will be carried to a General Convention of the Church. Perhaps it is well that this issue should be brought to the next General Convention.

It is hardly necessary to say that The Outlook, with full recognition of the place and work of the Roman Catholic Church in Latin America, sees no more reason why a Protestant congress should not meet in Panama—so long as it is a congress of Christian gentlemen—than why a Roman Catholic congress should not meet in the Puritan city of Boston. We are not sure, moreover, whether the authorities of the Roman Catholic Church will not have a greater respect for the position of the Protestant group of Episcopal clergymen than the Catholic group. If The Outlook were a Roman Catholic newspaper, it would be inclined to look with a little amusement upon the claim of the High Church Episcopal clergymen to be regarded as true Catholics. We should be tempted to say to them: "If you want to be reconciled with the Church of Rome, the process is a very simple and easy one. All you have to do is to walk into the door which the Church of Rome is always holding open for you." But we should add: "If you do enter that door, remember there can be no more splitting of hairs about the word Catholic. The only true Catholic Church is the Roman Catholic Church."

In other words, which is the Roman Church most likely to resent, a non-polemical and non-bigoted gathering of Protestants, or an organized body of American clergymen who insist that the Roman Pontiff is a mere bishop with no greater claims to historical orthodoxy than any Anglican bishop?

THE RUSSIAN CHOIR

The Russian Cathedral Choir which during the season of 1913–14 aroused much interest among musicians and music-lovers in the vicinity of New York appeared again in public at a concert in Æolian Hall last week.

The war in Europe prevented the choir from giving any concerts last winter. Singers are not exempt from military duty, and one of the bass singers who had arranged to come to this country was not allowed to leave Moscow, while another was arrested and detained as he was about to sail from Archangel. Three bass singers and a tenor, however, were secured by the new Archbishop of the Russian Greek Church for North America, who brought them with him by the way of Lemberg, Rumania, Bulgaria, Athens, and Naples. The Russian bass singers form a distinctive feature of the choir. There are perhaps none like them in the world. Their voices are deep, resonant, and reach extraordinarily low tones and sound often in part-singing like bassoons or English horns. This exceptional voice—called contra-basso—is found only in Russia.

The entire concert in Æolian Hall was given without any instrumental accompaniment whatever. The first part consisted of ecclesiastical music, and the choir appeared in the picturesque ecclesiastical garments of the Russian Greek Church, which are red and blue gowns or surplices trimmed with gold cloth or braid. The body of the choir consists of boys, some of them very small, who are supported by an octette of tenors and basses. The ritualistic music of the Russian Church is extraordinarily effective and moving, and its interpretation by this choir has made a deep impression upon organists and choir-masters of this country of all denominations. The second half of the Æolian Hall concert consisted of folk-songs and lyrics. During the intermission the choir doffed its ecclesiastical vestments, the men appearing in conventional evening dress and the boys in a uniform suit appropriate to school-boy wear. The choir sang at the conclusion of the concert the "Russian National Hymn" and "America."

To those who still have a lingering notion that the Russian people are semi-barbarians the singing of this choir, which is truly representative not of a small musical class but of the whole Russian people, is a remarkable revelation. Their technical excellence as part

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singers is extraordinary, in spite of some peculiarities of phrasing which, while they give an interesting foreign touch—a sort of cultivated primitiveness—do not altogether conform to European and American ideas of vocal technique.

An interesting incident of the appearance of this choir this season was its visit to the Hampton School, where it sang for the Negro students, after which the Negro choir sang Negro folk-songs for the Russians. Those who heard this concert in the Hampton Assembly Hall describe it as being very impressive. A tropical people and an Arctic people, both deeply musical, met on common ground and were each deeply impressed with the wonderful creative development and common love of what is noble in the African and Russian people.

The Russian choir is not only a notable musical organization, but it is contributing not a little to the growing understanding that there is such a thing as a human brotherhood of aspirations which no racial or geographical conflicts can destroy.

THE NEW CHINESE EMPEROR

In a cablegram to the United Press, published in the New York "Sun," President Yuan Shi-kai, of the Chinese Republic, who must now be called Emperor of China, makes his first public statement since assuming the new dignity. His private secretary, acting for him, wires as follows:

Your telegram has been translated and submitted to his Majesty's perusal. I am instructed to reply as follows:

"The sovereignty of the Chinese Republic resides in the whole body of the people. The convention of the people's representatives, considering a republic unsuitable on account of historical reasons and public opinion, and wishing to establish permanent peace, have unanimously adopted a constitutional monarchy. The status of the state's chief is naturally subject to public will. The acting Legislature has reported to me the same and stated that the provincial and district conventions of the people's representatives have unanimously elected me Emperor."

The secretary's references to "his Majesty" indicate that, though Yuan is not yet enthroned, he wishes to be regarded as already Emperor.

The alleged "unanimous" character of the elections above mentioned has already been explained in these pages. So far from unanimous were they that the southern Chinese in this country belonging to "the Chinese Republic Association" (said to have a membership of hundreds of thousands) have already recommended a Provisional President for China, and have named the man. The Chinese Chamber of Commerce of Portland, Oregon, has also cabled its protest to the Parliament at Peking against the proposed change; the President of the Chamber of Commerce is quoted as saying that "the Chinese people will never permit this reactionary programme to be carried out. We fully expect to see Yuan assassinated."

One does not, however, need to believe in the unanimity of Yuan's election to believe that he will probably retain his throne.

LORD ALVERSTONE

A great English lawyer has died. But he was much more than that. He was an all-round English gentleman of the best type.

Seventy-three years ago Richard Everard Webster was born. He was educated at Charterhouse and at Trinity College, Cambridge. His school and university and his later days were marked both by mental cleverness and physical prowess. He took part in the First University Sports, held in 1864. He was entered for the steeplechase, and came in second. The next year he won the mile and two-mile races. It is said that he had frequently done the mile in four minutes and thirty seconds. He was one of the earliest men to ride a bicycle, and kept at it until a few years ago. He played tennis until after he was sixty, when he gave it up for golf. He was a cricketer of reputation and held the highest cricket honor given—the Presidency of the Marylebone Cricket Club.

Lord Alverstone was equally well known in another department; he was a gifted singer and appeared in public on many occasions.

In 1868 he was called to the bar by Lincoln's Inn and had his chambers in Pump Court. When only thirty-six he became a Queen's Counsel and appeared in many celebrated cases, among them the Parnell Commission case for the London "Times." From 1885 to 1900 he was Attorney-General, during which time he was knighted. Then he became Master of the Rolls. On the death of Lord Russell he became Lord Chief Justice, and was created a Viscount. He con-

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tinued in this exalted office until 1913, when he resigned. Through his efforts the Criminal Court of Appeals was established.

Americans should always remember Lord Alverstone, for he was England's representative on the Alaskan Boundary Commission of 1903, and to his decision our Government is indebted for its victory in establishing an equitable boundary. He was bitterly attacked in Canada at the time because it was believed that he was giving up rich territory, and also because it had been believed that no British commissioner would decide against a British case! History will prove the real statesmanship of the great English jurist and arbitrator.

THE PAN-AMERICAN SCIENTIFIC CONGRESS

When we use the word "scientific," we generally think of something which has to do with such sciences as chemistry, physics, or medicine, with astronomy, metallurgy, or meteorology. When the Spaniards use the word "cientifico," however, whether they apply it to a political party, as in Mexico, or whether they apply it to the object of a Congress such as that about to be held in Washington, they refer to education in general. The "cientifico" party in Mexico, for instance, means the party of men educated, first of all, in books, but also by experience.

Thus the Congress at Washington, beginning on December 27 and lasting thirteen days, might be more accurately defined as a Congress of knowledge, of learning, or of education. Its nine sections include such topics as the following:

Uniform laws throughout the Pan-American countries for the protection of antiquities.

Conservation of natural resources.

Education—and here some of the sub-heads are interesting:

To what extent should elementary education be supported by local taxation and to what extent by State taxation?

Should universities and colleges supported by public funds be controlled by independent and autonomous powers or by the central State authority?

To what extent is exchange of students and professors among American republics desirable?

The establishment of a uniform railway gauge in Pan-America.

International law.

Thus the Congress is to be of a very far-reaching character. Its underlying idea is not original with ourselves; it is a distinctly Latin-American conception. It was initiated in 1888 by Argentina and for a few years was applied only to the larger South American countries. In 1908 it was broadened to include all the American republics. Delegates from all of them (and this means the first Pan-American function in several years to which Mexico will send delegates) will be present. This is the second of the distinctly Pan-American Scientific Congresses, the first having been held at Santiago, the Chilean capital. The second is to be presided over by Señor Eduardo Suarez-Mujica, the accomplished Chilean Ambassador at Washington. The wide scope of the Congress and the high character of the delegates mean much, we believe, not only to the educational and economic progress of each country involved, but also to future intercourse among them.

JAPAN HONORS CHRISTIANS

It is said that only a quarter of one per cent of the fifty million people in Japan believe in Christianity. Hence the news is all the more surprising that half of the decorations to educators bestowed at the coronation of the new Emperor have gone to Christians.

Writing from Kyoto, where the crowning took place, the Rev. Otis Cary, Secretary of the American Board's (Congregational) Japan mission, points out the contrast between this event and the coronation of the late Emperor. Then Christianity was strictly prohibited. Now among those honored, posthumous Court rank is given to Neesima (the Japanese lad who ran away from Japan, was educated in America, and returned to work for his country) and to Yamamoto, who united with him in founding the Doshisha University. Other educators who were honored include President Harada, of the Doshisha; Dr. Motoda, of St. Paul's College (Episcopal); President Naruse, of the Congregational Woman's College; Mr. Ebara, a Methodist; and two women, one at the head of a large Presbyterian institution and the other connected with a Methodist school—all Japanese, of course. Some Christians were also included among the business men who received decorations.

Thus, though the numerical percentage of Christians in Japan is very small, it contains material evidently precious to the Japanese Government.

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1915—A RETROSPECT

Never has the world been so united as in this year of war, 1915.

As metals fuse under great heat, so have the people of the earth fused under the heat of war. Even those portions of the globe that are remote from the common interchange of civilized life have found themselves welded with the rest. Singhalese and Canadian, Russian peasant and Italian nobleman, Rumanian and American, have shared with the Englishman, the Frenchman, the Bulgarian, the German, a common experience.

This is always what happens in the face of a great calamity. The fire that devastates the city makes both the millionaire and the tramp refugees, and consumes, for the time being at least, the barriers that ordinarily separate them. In the face of a common peril strangers can in an instant become comrades. What has happened often to a village or a city or even a larger community has now happened to nearly the whole world.

The fortunate ones are not those who have escaped this experience. Rather are they to be pitied, for they are the exiles. To have sat tranquil and content, unmoved by what has stirred the rest of mankind, is to have been visited with a great misfortune. Some who have thus sat peaceful in these days are like Peter by the brazier, choosing to warm himself rather than share with his Master the glorious sacrifice; but others are merely victims of circumstance, not to be blamed but rather to be commiserated with because they have not shared in the common lot. Rather are to be envied those who have been free to enter into this experience and serve. None are so happy as those who have been doing their part near the flames.

Under this common experience the histories of many nations have flowed together to make for at least this year one world history. Heretofore there has been the history of France, of Germany, of England, each touching others at the edges. In other years the great events of one nation might have been unknown to the history of many another. Now, however, the greatest, the most outstanding event in every nation has been the one World War.

Thus out of division there has risen union. The very wrath of man has brought forth a world sympathy. A while ago the American might ignore the man of France and his problems, leave out of account the Englishman's doings, forget the plans and ideas of the German. In this year 1915 no American, unless he was illiterate or stranded in some remote corner, could help wondering what the Germans were planning and thinking of, what the English were doing or failing to do, how the French were meeting the problems of their land; and the fortunes of peoples concerning whom he once knew little or nothing—the Belgians, the Servians, the Poles—have become his concern, to be read about and followed from day to day as are the fortunes of his neighbors in the same village or on the adjoining street. But more than this, in the year 1915 the world has come to value as never before its common possession which war has threatened—the public law of nations. As a military episode the sinking of the Lusitania was negligible; but as an experience of historic significance it can never be forgotten. This crime shocked mankind into seeing for the first time its own dependence on law. This crime gave to the world a taste of the horrors of anarchy. Until this year 1915 international law was for the most part the concern of the diplomatist, the interest of the specialist; now it has become the possession of the plain people.

It is not war, of course, that has really made one family of all the nations of the earth. They were of one family from the beginning. It is not war that has even enabled the nations to know one another, for the railways, the steamship, and the telegraph and telephone have furnished the intercommunication out of which understanding grows. What this year of war has done has been to awaken by its cannon the world's dormant sense of union, its desire for mutual understanding.

And slowly out of this sense of union, out of this desire for understanding, there has grown in every civilized people a sense of its obligation to the rest of mankind. We cannot speak for others as well as we can for ourselves. Americans, we are sure, will confess that during this year 1915 they have learned much about themselves. They have learned that, whereas they thought they were bold, they are really somewhat timid and unwilling to endure suffering and thankful to pay a high price for peace. They have learned that, whereas they thought they were soldier-like, they were really ignorant of the science and art of self-defense, which includes

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the defense of their National obligations. They have learned that, despite their doctrine of a hundred years that the function of the United States is to police the hemisphere and even at times the world, they are really ready to let the police work of the world be done by other nations. They have thus learned much about their own weaknesses, but at the same time they have discovered that they were not as indifferent to European affairs as they thought they were; that, in spite of their protestation against becoming involved in entangling alliances, they have been by the very nature of things somewhat entangled in the concerns of Europe. They have discovered, rather tardily, that they had an obligation to a little country whose invasion was an accomplished fact before they woke up to their own duty about it, and they have been seeking for excuses ever since because of what they have discovered about their own obligation in that matter. They have discovered that they have certain duties as one of the joint custodians of the public law of nations, and they have tried to still their conscience in this matter by satisfying themselves with diplomatic notes on the sinking of merchant vessels and the slaughter of noncombatants. And that they are not yet satisfied is a proof that the conscience which they have discovered has developed prodigiously during this past year. In the Western world they have discovered some neighbors whom they have not heretofore appreciated. Thus during 1915 the United States has learned much of its own weaknesses and much of its own duties. In like manner other nations have found this year a year of self-revelation.

If it had not been for this world war, some of the events of the year might have made it memorable.

It has marked the close of a hundred years of peace between England and America, and the beginning of another era of peace which nothing at present threatens.

It has marked great changes in the Orient—the rousing of the Chinese giant and the extension of the influence in Asia of the power of intelligent and active Japan.

It has recorded twelve months of anarchy in Mexico, with the final recognition of Carranza as the head of the *de facto* government.

It has seen the relations of the United States to its dependent neighbor, Santo Domingo, marred by moral failure, for which the Nation has in part, perhaps, made amends; and has seen the undertaking of new responsibilities by the United States in Haiti.

It has witnessed the opening of the Panama Canal.

It records the efforts of such men as Lindsey and Osborne, often thwarted, to deal honorably with delinquents, young and old.

It has seen the successful operation of a World's Fair on the Pacific coast.

In the war it has seen Germany advance its military frontiers into Russia and into the Balkans; the incredible bravery of countless men; the awakening of America to the danger of those who value their citizenship lightly; the unimaginable sufferings of the Armenians.

But all these are only subsidiary to the great common experience of the world in war and the welding of the peoples together in the flame of it. To recognize that the cause for this experience this year has been a great war is not to praise war or to defend it. There is no praise of pestilence or famine or earthquake in the recognition that through such calamities men rise; neither is it a praise of war to record the fact that in war there has been human union. It is by such means that God enforces his lessons and proves to man the validity of his laws. There are some who profess that they are weary of the war; but wearying of the war will not end it. There are those who see in this war only its horrors; but seeing merely the horrors of the war will not end it. The war will end only when the world has learned from it its lesson.

RUSSIA FROM WITHIN AND FROM WITHOUT

It is only natural, perhaps, that in the existing European situation a high representative of a belligerent Power, speaking in behalf of his country, should make as favorable a presentation as possible of that country's case. This, apparently, the Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs tried to do in the interesting interview with The Outlook's staff correspondent which we published last week. Mr. Sazonoff's statements, however, are not in all respects convincing. It is not wholly true to say that "Russians are united now as never before." There is a fairly general agreement in all classes of Russian society that the war must be carried on to a victorious conclusion; but with regard to almost every other question, of domestic policy at least,

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there is acute disagreement. The Government as now constituted distrusts or fears the nation, and the nation has lost confidence in the existing bureaucratic Government. The people think that, inasmuch as they are bearing the heaviest burdens of the war, they are entitled to say something with regard to the management of it, or at least to organize in their own way for the support of it. The Government, on the other hand, denies the right of the people to participate in the direction of affairs, and insists that now, as heretofore, they shall do only what they are ordered to do. The Czar has paid little or no attention to the representations, resolutions, and petitions of his subjects, and after dissolving the Duma in defiance of the popular will he has declined to reconvene it at the legally appointed time. So far, therefore, as this vitally important question is concerned, the Russians certainly are not united. There is indication of this in Mr. Mason's correspondence published this week. The comparatively small bureaucratic group and the overwhelmingly preponderant popular group are mutually antagonistic, and nothing but the ever-present German peril prevents a rupture and a serious clash. There is a lack of complete unanimity even in the Ministry. According to trustworthy advices from Petrograd, more than half of the Ministers are in favor of making concessions to the popular demand for administrative reform; but they have been overruled by the Premier and the Czar. The bureaucracy has succeeded in retaining its exclusive control of the administration, but it has done this at the expense of national union and harmony.

In his references to the Jewish question, also, Mr. Sazonoff makes a presentation of the case that does not bear analysis. "Americans seem to think," he says, "that the 'Pale' is a very small area, when, as a matter of fact, it is seven times the area of France. Is it a hardship to restrict to an area seven times as great as France a people of only five million?" This is only half the truth. The five million Jews do not enjoy freedom of movement and residence in "an area seven times as great as France." They are restricted to the towns and cities of that area, and within these narrow municipal limits they are terribly overcrowded. They cannot live where they like and travel freely from place to place even within the limits of the Pale. On the contrary, they must stay where they are put and earn their living there as best they may. It is always a hardship, moreover, when one class of the population labors under disabilities from which all other classes are free. Mr. Sazonoff says that the Jews have "already been given some privileges, such as greater freedom to come to the big cities." This, however, is not a proof of greater tolerance on the part of the Government; it is merely the result of conditions brought about by the war. Hundreds of thousands of Jews were driven out of the Pale of Settlement by the German invasion. They fled as refugees to the cities of central Russia, and the Government was forced to legitimize their presence there simply because it could not possibly return them to territory that it no longer controlled. This can hardly be considered by Americans as an illustration of enlarged privileges given to the Jews. Almost every resolution and petition adopted by business associations and representative assemblies in Russia within the last six months has recommended that the Jews be given full rights of citizenship, and that the Pale of Settlement be abolished forever; but all these expressions of the popular will have been disregarded. There can be little hope of a change for the better while a monarch to whom the Jews are obnoxious retains his power, and while responsible and influential Ministers continue to regard and describe them as a "menace" to the country. Perhaps the most important and significant statement made by the Russian Minister is that in which he says:

"The attempts from without and from within to bring Russia to a separate peace with Germany have been stronger than the world dreams."

"Have these efforts ceased?"

"By no means; but the crisis has been weathered, the greatest danger is past."

When this danger first became apparent and when the "crisis" was "weathered" the Minister does not say, but it must have been recently. On the 22d of August last four representatives of the Petrograd Press Council had an interview with Mr. Sazonoff and questioned him with regard to this very matter. He then treated it rather lightly and assured the interviewers that the rumors of a separate peace were based solely on overtures repeatedly made to Russia by her enemies. These proposals or suggestions, he said, had been firmly and conclusively negatived. He made no reference at that time to pressure "from within," and

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if he had any reason to believe that this constituted a serious "danger," he successfully concealed it. Of course the pressure "from within" to which Mr. Sazonoff referred in his interview with Mr. Mason can have come only from the reactionary bureaucracy. One of its journalistic organs recently declared (apparently with the approval of the censor) that it would be better to open peace negotiations with Germany than to allow the Ministry to be made responsible to the Duma. In other words, it would be better for the bureaucracy to lose the war than to lose its own arbitrary power.

When the Minister describes the Balkan situation as a mere "incident" or "by-chapter" in the war, we believe that he belittles its importance. In his attitude generally toward the Teutonic Powers the Minister fails, we think, to do justice to their resourcefulness and strength. Their "campaign in Poland," their "submarine warfare," and their "slap at the Balkans" cannot satisfactorily be described as "the flounderings of an animal at bay." On the contrary, they impress most observers as the skillful and well-directed blows of a powerful and aggressive antagonist who is not "floundering" but is acting with purposeful intelligence. Russia may eventually succeed, and probably will succeed, in "smashing the Germans in Poland and hammering them back into Germany;" but to say that when the Russian troops get munitions enough they will "scatter the Germans as a heavy hail-storm scatters an old ladies' picnic" does not, under the present circumstances, carry weight with the observer on this side of the Atlantic.

American friends of Russia share Mr. Sazonoff's faith in the "millions of strong, clean-bodied fighting men whom the Empire has in reserve," but here, as in Great Britain and France, there is a feeling that if the Czar and his Ministers would put more trust in the people and less in the bureaucracy they might look forward with even greater confidence to ultimate victory and a prosperous future.

THE ANCONA HORROR

A POLL OF THE INTERNATIONAL PRESS

ON November 8 the Italian steamer Ancona, bound west, was destroyed by an Austrian submarine and many of her passengers, mostly Italians, were drowned. Among the missing, however, are some Americans. The crime provoked horror and anger, especially in Italy. The London "Times" says:

We shall be surprised if these feelings do not grow in intensity as the full enormity of the deed is grasped. The Italians are a high-spirited people, with a strong sense of humanity, a deep love of their own countrymen, and an exceptional tenderness for women and little children. Unless we mistake them, they are not likely to take this flagrant injury and insult lying down.

They do not. We translate from the Milan "Corriere della Sera:" "It is impossible for the particulars of the horror not to excite the Italian populace." The "Corriere" adds: "All that indicates the savage ferocity of the enemy does not depress but excites us, does not discourage but inflames us."

But "there were Americans among those who were thus sent to their doom—Americans who were exercising their undoubted rights in traveling on an Italian ship; Americans for whose protection the Government of the United States is responsible," declares the Philadelphia "Public Ledger," and asks, as do most other papers:

What will be the answer of the Administration to this latest crime against the Nation and all humanity? Is the Austrian Government to escape with a disavowal and an apology? Must there be more futile notes, more inconclusive debates about "sacred principles"?

As in other cases of submarine warfare, the crime consists not merely in the killing of neutrals but in the killing of non combatants. The Pittsburgh "Dispatch" remarks: "The senselessness of the act stands out above everything else." What possible advantage can a country gain by the sinking of a ship of commerce whose cargo consists chiefly of passengers bound for a land with which that country is at peace? this paper asks, and adds:

Whether it be shown that the Ancona was sunk only after warning was disregarded, the criminal feature of the horrible affair is scarcely

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lessened, even though it be argued that the Austrians had every right to sink the ship when they could not prevent her bringing back reservists and munitions on her return voyage.

On December 6 our Government protested to the Austrian Government in a note which the Sacramento "Bee" calls the strongest communication with respect to invasion of the rights of American citizens yet made to any foreign government by the United States since the war began. "It is vigorous not only in words, but also in its unqualified demand for redress." The California paper continues:

"This country has been waiting many months for a proper recognition by Germany of her responsibilities with respect to the sinking of the Lusitania. And the Wilson Administration evidently has reached the conclusion that America's patience in that case is not to be taken hereafter as a precedent to be counted upon by any other European country in dealing with America or American citizens abroad.

The extremely peremptory tone of the Ancona note was almost certainly addressed quite as much to Berlin as to Vienna, thinks the New York "New Republic," and was intended to accomplish more than a disavowal of the slaughter of the Ancona passengers. "Doubtless these are shrewd tactics for a President when he wishes to warn a foreign power that his patience is exhausted, without at the same time committing any act which will necessarily involve a break with the offender."

Under the caption "A Falsification of All the Conceptions of Neutrality" the principal Vienna paper, the "Neue Freie Presse," makes this general comment:

One of the most noteworthy phenomena of the war is that the United States has constantly moved away further and further from the policy of neutrality which it announced at the beginning of Europe's heavy trials.

The Washington Government has subjected the German wireless stations to censorship, while the cables between London and America work without censorship.

Against England's declaration of the North Sea as a war zone America defended itself with the gentle taps of a fan, and against Germany's declaration of English waters as a war zone with fist blows, while against its consequences, the extension of the submarine war to merchantmen, it protested almost with threats of war.

Against our Ambassador, Dumba, however, steps were taken which, even in form, were ruthless.

The State Department at Washington has become a branch establishment of the British Foreign Office, and only for appearances are neutrality notes sent now and then to London, which are not followed any further.

Through American humanity in the shape of guns, shells, and shrapnel much misery has come upon Europe. This brand of humanity is silent over the death of hundreds of thousands, and only comes to life when two or three Americans, who perhaps were hired for the purpose, and, as it seems, are always available, are on a merchant ship which, certainly not by coincidence, has, through its flight and negligence in saving its own passengers, become the opportunity for starting the present dispute between the monarchy and the United States.

More particular comment comes from the Essen "Westphalische Zeitung." It finds two weak points in the Ancona note: first, that arrangements with one belligerent, Germany, have no validity for Austria-Hungary; secondly, that firing upon the Ancona was the only measure to prevent the already attempted flight, and was therefore perfectly justified, according to the recognized rules of war. The Westphalian paper thinks that Austria-Hungary will never disavow the sinking of the Ancona or punish the commander of the submarine, adding:

We venture to express the hope that the Austrian Government will refuse to judge an efficient submarine commander otherwise than on the basis of his military achievements, and will discuss the question of compensation only so far as admitted by the principles of international law.

In general, since two American notes are awaiting answers, we may wait to see how the game of notes comes out. The Austrians need not make more haste to reply than the British.

On our part, the St. Louis "Globe-Democrat," while it does not think that an act of Austria, Turkey, or Bulgaria is "in violation of the agreement with Germany as to submarine warfare," does assume "that Austria will disavow the act, if outside the modification of submarine warfare to which Germany has agreed, and make whatever reparation it can."

Concerning the Austrian reply, dated December 15, the Boston "Journal" says:

It is understood that Austria refuses to take cognizance of our correspondence with Germany over the Lusitania and Arabic cases, and expects a fresh beginning in the controversy of war ethics. That the United States cannot grant. If we should abandon our demands as made in the note to Austria, our diplomacy

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would be even more of a joke than it is now.

The Washington "Times" affirms:

The United States Government did not invite Austria to submit a brief against our position in the Ancona matter. The United States Government did not request Austria to make inquiries here for further information. The United States Government did not ask Austria to join us in a long-winded discussion such as our State Department had for months with the Berlin Foreign Office over the Lusitania.

The United States Government demanded from Austria immediate reparation.

In Austria's reply . . . there is no satisfaction, there is no reparation, there is nothing but evasion and an effort to make this like the Lusitania case—everlasting.

So the single thing the Washington Administration can do to certify that its demand was exactly what it declared itself to be, the only thing it can do to maintain the self-respect of this Government, not to mention the opinion of the world, is to give Austria a fixed time in which to comply with our demand of the other day.

On December 19 a new and drastic note, of this nature, was despatched to Vienna. It may mean a severance of diplomatic relations. If so, says the Washington "Herald," this must "be followed by an ultimatum to Germany on the Lusitania couched in similar language, a failure to comply with which must lead us to sever diplomatic relations with Germany also."

The cause of England, France, Italy, and Russia is thus referred to by the Rochester "Post Express:"

It will not escape attention that no American or neutral or non-combatant has been done to death by any one of the Allies. Whether they were too just or too wise to commit such acts, the fact remains that they have not committed them; and as a consequence the sympathies of mankind are so largely with them.

TWO LETTERS

The following letters, one expressing a pro-German, the other an anti-German point of view, are self-explanatory.

Rochester Theological Seminary,
German Department,
Rochester, New York, December 16, 1915.

Lawrence F. Abbott,
The Outlook, New York:

Dear Mr. Abbott—Perhaps I ought to explain to you why I must request the discontinuance of my subscription to The Outlook. I have hesitated in doing so. After subscribing for a paper for seventeen or eighteen years it is no easy matter to give it up. Still, the attitude you have found it expedient to assume concerning Germany has utterly shattered my faith in the reliability and equity of your editorial judgment. I happen to know a little about the Fatherland, although I have resided in this country for well-nigh half a century. And I know your war editorials have sometimes been hilariously incorrect and always intentionally one-sided, if not actually virulent and incentive to espouse the cause of England on the part of the United States. You might have been pro-British without being anti-German. I blame you not for your English sympathies. I deplore your German hatred. So please discontinue my subscription to your paper until you see fit to recover your poise of judgment concerning so noble and sacrificing and efficient a people as the much-maligned Germans. Sincerely,

F. W. C. MEYER.

December 20, 1915.

Rev. Friedrich W. C. Meyer,
Rochester, New York:

My dear Mr. Meyer—Your name has been taken from our subscription list in accordance with the request expressed in your letter. We cordially acquiesce in your right to cease subscribing for a journal with whose views you do not agree; we do not for a moment question your right to form and express the opinion that the editorial judgments of The Outlook are neither reliable nor equitable. We do, however, protest that it is both unjust and unreasonable to ascribe motives to a man or a group of men unless those motives are substantiated by incontrovertible facts. What facts have you to justify your statement that our attitude towards the European war is assumed for the sake of expediency? What facts have you to justify your assertion that

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our utterances are the result of our hatred of the German people?

Perhaps this is a good occasion for us to try to restate our attitude towards Germany and the part she is playing in the present world catastrophe.

We agree with you that the German people have a history and have made contributions to civilization which entitle them to be called "noble, sacrificing, and efficient." In too many instances they have been "maligned" as a result of the passions and hatred engendered by the war. But the fact remains that the great majority of the sixty-five millions of the German people are not students of history, philosophy, or logic. They accept with a pathetic faith the assertions of their political and military leaders. By these leaders they have been convinced that Germany's part in the war is merely a defensive one; that she was attacked from without by a conspiracy of jealous and covetous enemies, and that she made war solely to defend the homes of her people.

If The Outlook believed this, it would be profoundly a pro-German paper. If it believed that Germany wished solely to develop her own civilization without encroaching upon the rights of others; to promote her own efficiency, education, and commerce; to prove, in accordance with the recognized principles of decent human intercourse, that her merchants and industrialists are superior to those of other nations—and she was rapidly doing this before the outbreak of the war; if The Outlook believed that England, France, Russia, and Italy, with the secret sympathies of most of the other civilized nations of the world, had formed a deliberate conspiracy to rob Germany by force of the fruits of her organization and skill, it would as constantly condemn the Governments of those countries as it condemns the Imperial Government of Germany to-day.

What are the facts? For forty years Germany has been the strongest military power in Europe. Her philosophers, historians, university professors, statesmen, and military leaders have unitedly and persistently extolled the beauty, righteousness, and material advantage of military power. There was no nation in Europe during the summer of 1914 that would have dared for a moment to attack the German Empire single-handed. She was in no danger of attack; she did not have to act upon the defensive; she herself said that there was no nation or combination of nations that she had to fear; she asserted publicly that Russia was too disrupted, that England was too shop-keeping, and that France was too morally corrupt to fight. These facts seem to us clearly to dispose of the defense argument.

Moreover, when Austria's ultimatum to Servia was issued England did everything in her power to submit the controversy to international arbitration; the documents show that the other nations consented to this plan and that Germany alone refused. Our unalterable conviction is that the war was a war of attack and not of defense on the part of Germany.

This view is strengthened and confirmed by the course of Germany during the war. The invasion of Belgium, the acquiescent if not active participation in the Armenian horrors, the killing of non-combatants on the Lusitania and Ancona, and the destruction of American property to prevent the shipment of munitions, do not reflect on German efficiency—on the contrary, these deeds have been terribly efficient—but in our judgment they do reflect upon the view of the rights of man which now prevails among German civil and military leaders.

Those in control of Germany to-day believe in *Machtpolitik;* The Outlook believes in the rule of reason. Those in control of Germany to-day believe that the individual was created for the state; The Outlook believes that the state was created for the individual. Germany to-day stands for the doctrine that the life of the individual must be drawn from a skillfully organized society; The Outlook believes that a truly organized society must grow out of the freedom, honor, and virtue of the individual.

This is why The Outlook is anti-German in the present war and hopes the Allies will win. Yours very truly,

LAWRENCE F. ABBOTT,
President of The Outlook Company.

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KNOLL PAPERS

BY LYMAN ABBOTT

A BIRTHDAY MONOLOGUE

MY eightieth birthday anniversary has come and gone. It was spent in a room fragrant and beautiful with flowers—my companion counted over two hundred roses, and what so eloquent expression of affection as flowers?—and my table is piled high with telegrams and letters, from friends known and unknown. So many are they that I abandon all attempt to give them personal answer and hope these friends will accept this impersonal and general expression of gratitude. Only a very few of these letters are congratulations, good wishes, and many happy returns of the day; none, I think, are letters merely of praise or admiration. They are letters of appreciation for service rendered by voice or pen, in private conversation or public address, in private letter or published article: for some light shed on perplexing problems, some courage received in a time of discouragement, some aid to faith when the world seemed to be in darkness—in a word, some gift of life when life seemed hardly worth the living. These letters were for me, and I have no right to print one of them. But I may without violating confidence reprint one printed verse which one of my correspondents sends me as a not inapt interpretation of my message to the world:

"If the day looks kinder gloomy,
And your chances kinder slim;
If the situation's puzzlin',
An' the prospect's awful grim;
And perplexities keep pressin'
Till all hope is nearly gone,
Just bristle up and grit your teeth,
And keep on keepin' on."

I must believe these expressions of appreciation and gratitude sincere; that my life message has carried greater help to others than I ever dreamed it could have or can now realize that it has. Of all forms of egotism, I think the worst is that of mock self-depreciation, for that is hypocrisy as well as egotism. Looking back over the seventy years of my remembered life, seeing what I was as a boy, looking about me on these letters and tokens of appreciation, and believing that they are a real witness to real services rendered, I try to put down here for my own clear thinking and for inspiration to others what I profoundly believe has been the secret of my life.

Whatever I have done for others has first been done for me. If I have solved any one's doubts, it is because these doubts have first confronted me in my search for truth; and the solution which I have found under the guidance of an invisible Teacher I have passed on to others. Whenever I have given courage to a hesitating and perhaps halted soul, it is because I have hesitated to "keep on keepin' on," and by turning to encourage the discouraged companion at my side have reinforced the courage which my invisible Leader has inspired in me. I have sometimes relighted the torch in the hands of a comrade—a torch which, extinguished, was giving forth only sooty smoke, not flame—but it has always been because the Light-bearer before me had first lighted my torch and bid me pass the light to others.

For the one thing of which I am perfectly certain as I look back over those seventy remembered years, and recall the feeble physique, timid heart, weak will, and vacillating purpose of the little boy entering his teens, is that I have not made myself what I am nor given of myself what I have given; that Another has made me what I am, and I have given only what that Other has first given me. I am not more sure that there is life in the soil without which the gardener would plant his seeds in vain, power in fire and water without which the engineer would kindle the coal in vain, beauty in nature which the artist sees before he can interpret it upon his canvas, than I am that there is a life which we do not create but which we can accept, and, accepting, impart to others, and can impart to others because they also possess it—yes! and often exercise it though they know it not. I am not more certain that the fertile soil will respond to the gift of the gardener, the seemingly lifeless coal will respond with up-leaping light and warmth to the kindling touch of the engineer, than that there is in every soul dormant a divine life of conscience to see the right and of courage to attempt it if we only know how to awaken that life.

My psychological friend tells me that this invisible Other, whom I cannot see nor hear, but in whom I believe, is my "better self."

(*Continued on page following illustrations*)

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Current Events Pictorially Treated

PHOTOGRAPH FROM UNDERWOOD & UNDERWOOD

GENERAL SIR DOUGLAS HAIG, THE NEW BRITISH COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF ON THE CONTINENT

General Haig was born in 1861, and is therefore 54 years old; he was educated at Oxford; joined the Seventh Hussars in 1885; served in the Sudan and in South Africa, and was Chief of Staff in India. He succeeds Field Marshal Sir John French, now Viscount French

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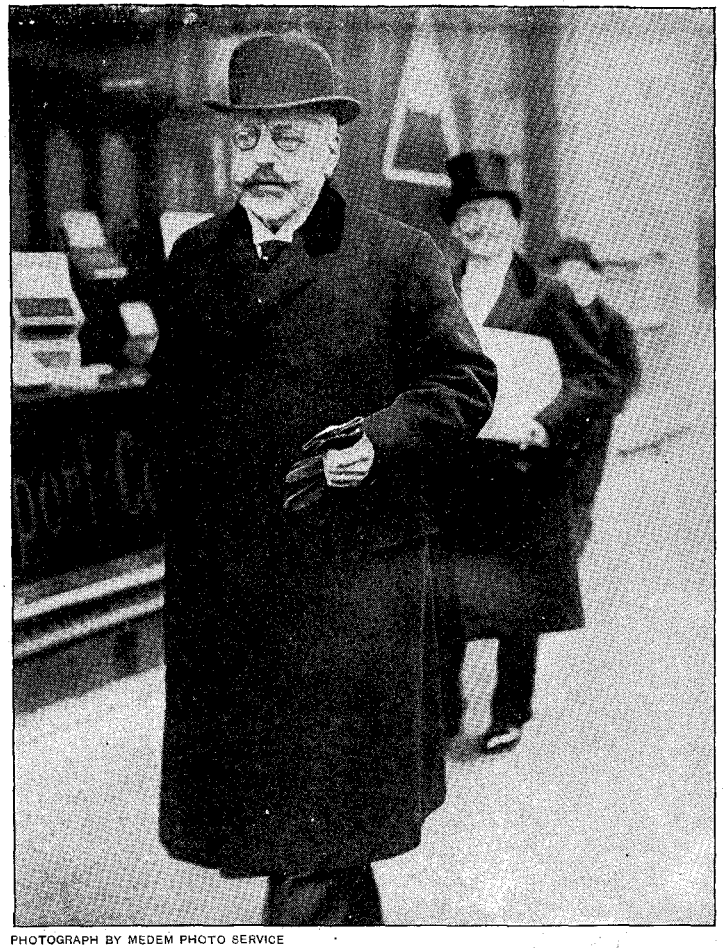
FREDERIC C. PENFIELD, UNITED STATES AMBASSADOR TO AUSTRIA



PHOTOGRAPH BY MEDEM PHOTO SERVICE

BARON BURIAN, PRIME MINISTER OF AUSTRIA-HUNGARY

TWO IMPORTANT FIGURES IN THE "ANCONA" CONTROVERSY

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WOMEN AND CHILDREN WHOSE LIVES WERE ENDANGERED BY THE ATTACK ON THE "ANCONA"

This group of survivors of the Ancona escaped to a port in Tunis and were being cared for at the French hospital there when the photograph was taken. They were more fortunate than many of their fellow-passengers who were drowned or killed when the Ancona was destroyed, yet the Austrian Government objects to "the sharpness with which the United States considers it necessary to blame the commanding officer of the submarine concerned in the affair." The "affair" was the sinking of a merchant vessel with a large number of helpless non-combatant passengers!

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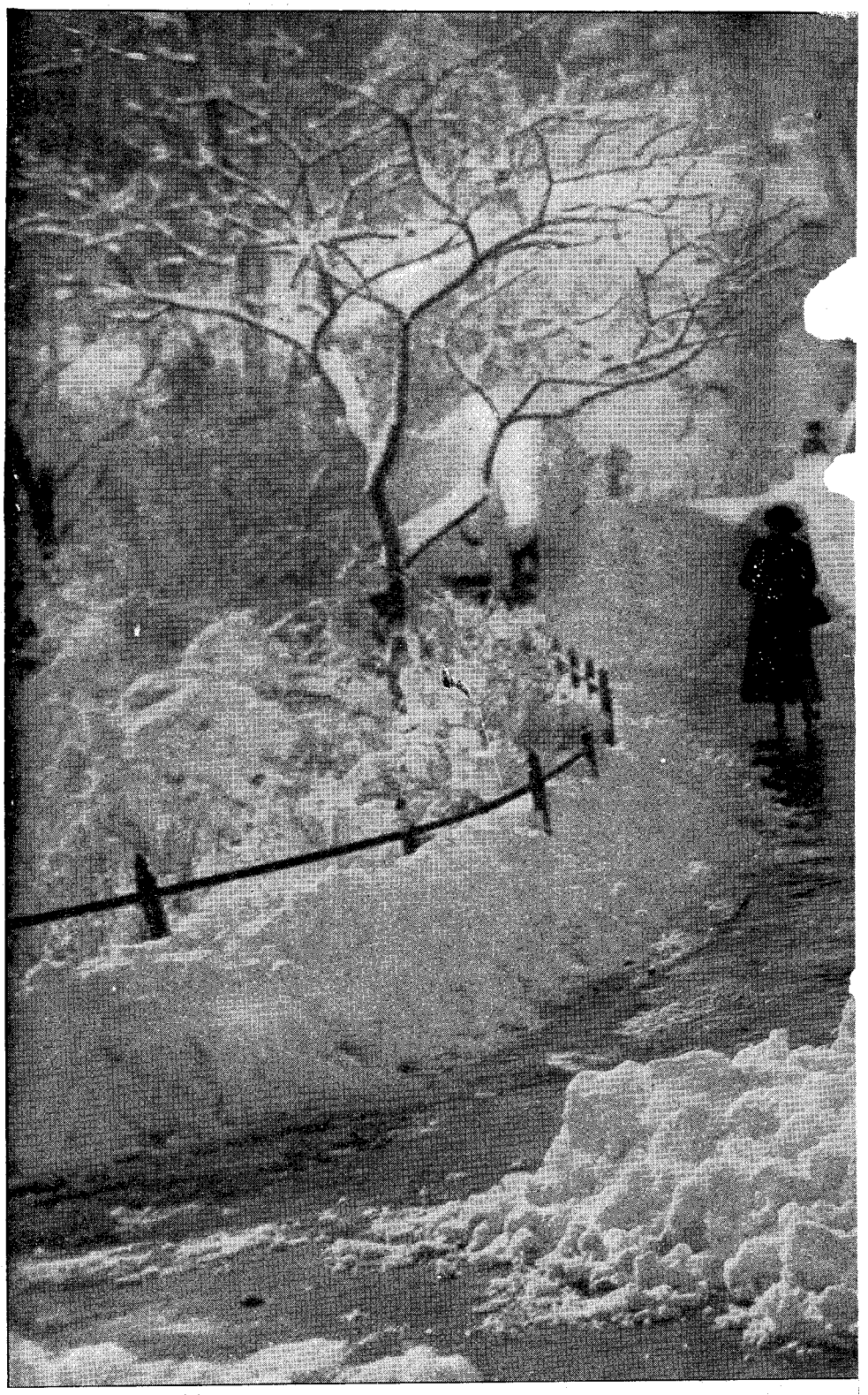

PHOTOGRAPH BY PAUL THOMPSON

SNOW AND ICE BEAUTIFY THE CI

Though the chief effect of the blizzard of December 13 was to impede traffic, and to des
beauty and

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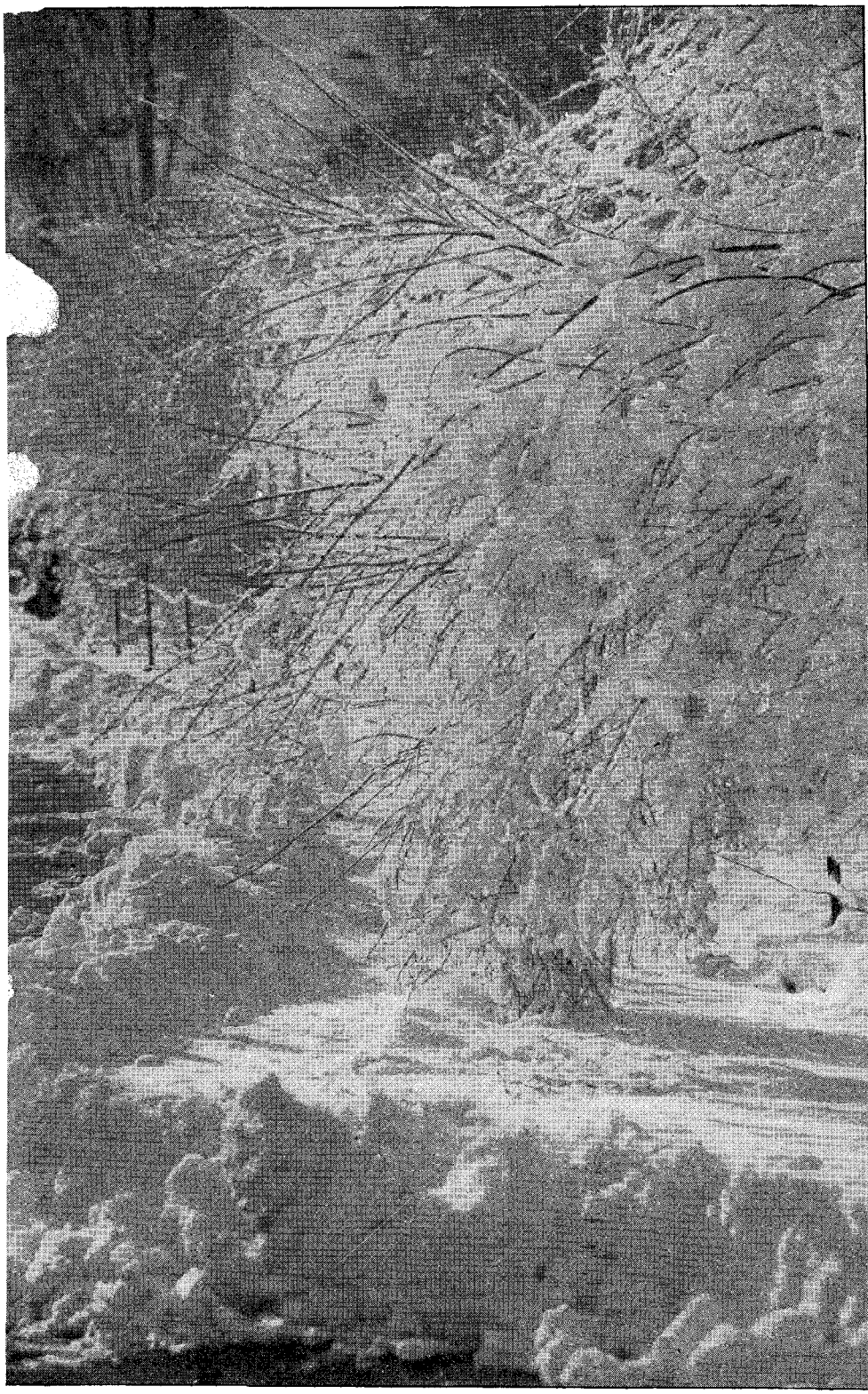

'ORK IN CENTRAL PARK, NEW YORK

munication with neighboring towns, some of the effects even within the city limits were of ure intimates

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A NOVEL SKATING RINK

Ice skating has become so fashionable this winter that one of New York's largest hotels has turned its Italian Garden into an ice pond. Here, a hundred feet above the street, and open to the sky, is the attractive little rink seen in the above picture. Adjoining are tea and refreshment rooms. This rink is reserved for a private skating club three days a week; on other days it is open to the public on payment of an admission fee

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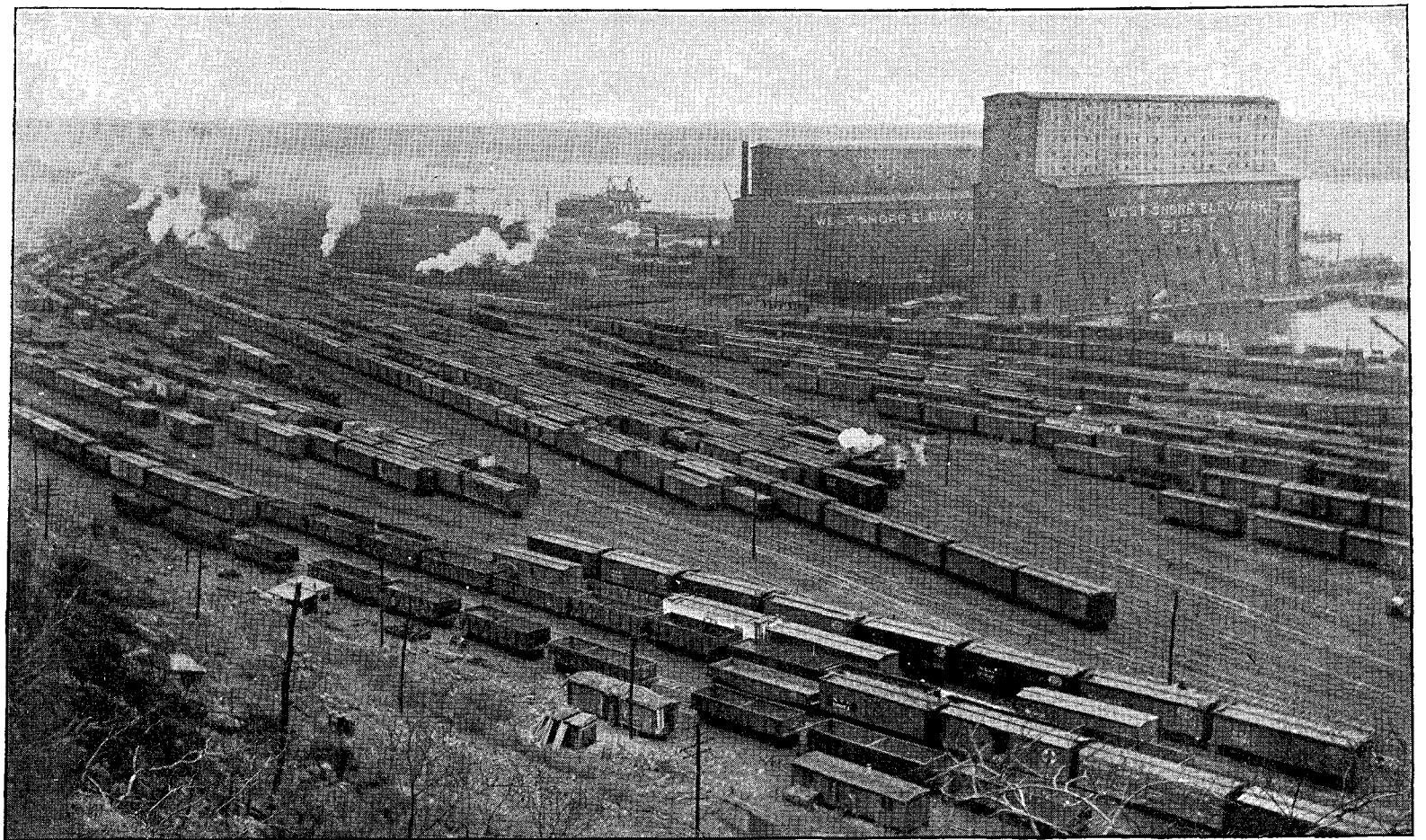

PHOTOGRAPH BY EDWIN LEVICK

FREIGHT CONGESTION IN NEW YORK CITY

As a result of the extraordinary shipments to Europe, a vast accumulation of freight has lately been piled up in New York terminals and elsewhere. New York Harbor has been filled with ships loading cargoes, but it has been impossible to transfer the incoming freight promptly, with the result seen above

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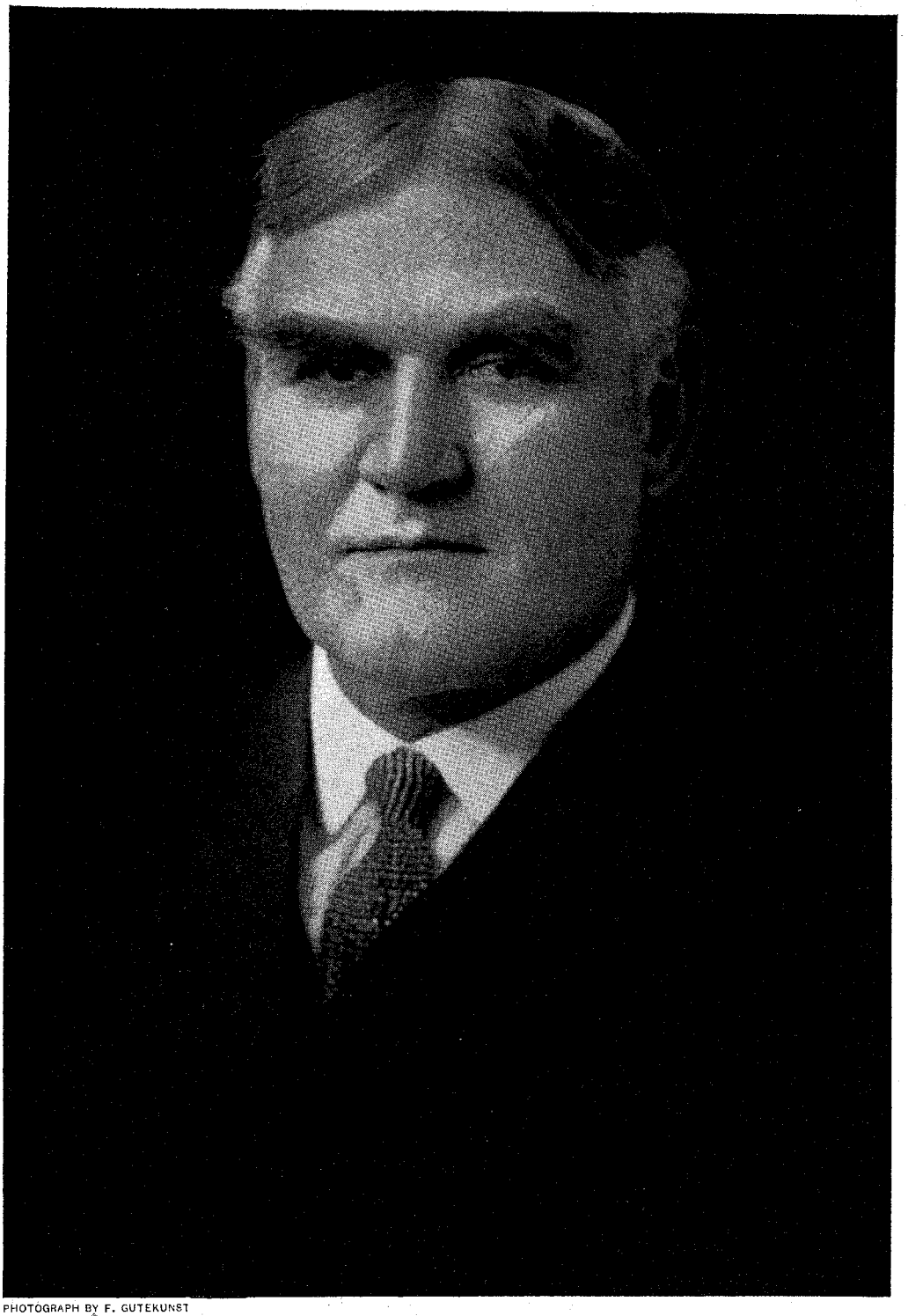

PHOTOGRAPH BY F. GUTEKUNST

GOVERNOR BRUMBAUGH, OF PENNSYLVANIA

See an interview with Governor Brumbaugh, by Charles Phillips Cooper, on another page of this issue

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I agree with him. So my mother and my father were my better self in the first quarter of my life, and my wife was my better self for the nearly half a century that we lived together, and all three are still my better self, through a memory that eye does not discern. So is this Other, my teacher, leader, light-bearer, life-giver, my better self. I am no mere organ of which he plays the keys and I give forth what music he will. We are companions, he and I. And he plays on me, not as an organist on an organ, but as a leader in his orchestra, his will transformed into their wills, and so their harmony interpreting his musical message to the auditors. Nor can I ever tell, and no longer try to tell, what of my life is his and what is mine. I can untwist the rope into its several strands, but who can untwist the Hudson River which flows by my village-home and say what drops have been contributed to it by this or the other creek flowing into it? Only this we do know: there would be no river if there were no springs to feed it, and no springs if there were no clouds to feed the springs.

This faith in the Great Companion is not an opinion which argument has built up and argument could therefore destroy; it is not a conviction which has taken possession of me but which I can separate from myself and cross-examine, demanding that it tell me its right to be. It is an experience, a part of my very self, which I cannot and do not wish to distinguish from myself and from which I could not part without destroying myself. The theological definitions of this faith are unsatisfactory to me just because they are definitions. The conventional expressions of this faith are unsatisfactory to me just because they are conventional. And this vague and unconventional expression is unsatisfactory because it is vague and undefined.

And yet, unsatisfactory as this confession of my faith is to me and will be to my readers, I hope it may serve to confirm in some of my friends, known and unknown, their faith in the Great Companion, and, in those who have been estopped from that faith by ecclesiastical formularies and theological definitions, their faith in their better selves. For myself, I would be glad if any one who has ever received help from any word or deed of mine might believe with me that I have not been the giver of life, only the distributer of the life which the Life-giver has given to me.

The Knoll, Cornwall-on-the-Hudson,
December, 1915.

THE WAR CONFERENCE AT CLARK UNIVERSITY

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENCE

THE problems and lessons of the war were discussed week before last at a three-day conference held at Clark University. The aim of the Conference, it was stated, was to present the fundamental issues of the war with the same spirit of absolute fairness with which historians will investigate them a hundred years from now. The sessions, with their twenty-four speakers, representing British, German, and various American points of view, have proved that, in a university atmosphere at least, it is possible in this country for men holding opposite views on the war to meet together to present them from the same platform.

The most striking view advanced was that of the new Teutonic Federation already arising in central and southeastern Europe. The intimate political relations and the new tariff union recently made between Germany and Austria-Hungary have practically created a new federal state, which Bulgaria, Turkey, and yet other countries may join. Professor Walz, of Harvard, said: "In reading the numerous articles in German and Austrian periodicals dealing with the future condition of central Europe you find invariably the idea of a union of some kind between the German Empire and Austria-Hungary based upon common defense and common economic interests, a union which might include Bulgaria and Turkey and other states willing to join it, and which would leave to all partners the utmost freedom in internal affairs. It is the first sign, indistinct as yet, of a new Europe, of a confederacy of European states." Much the same view was presented by Professor Kuno Francke, also of Harvard. While admitting that the war has aroused a strong popular propaganda in Germany for territorial compensation on both the western and eastern borders of the country, he stated that this

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movement is openly combated not only by the Socialists but by a considerable proportion of the leading men of the Empire. "The German Government," said Professor Francke, "I trust, will find some way, at the coming peace conference, of restoring the independence both of Poland and of Belgium, while at the same time attaching these countries to the economic interests of the new Austro-German federation. The annexation of Poland and Belgium would be at variance with the German conception of the state as a moral agency whose mission it is to raise every one of its members to a higher level of public consciousness and activity."

Another view presented by the German side related to the obligations of American citizenship. While the necessity of absolute and paramount loyalty to the United States on the part of all of its citizens was strongly pointed out during the sessions, the Americans of German ancestry insisted that, with some regrettable exceptions, there was no question whatever of the genuine loyalty to this country of the great mass of German-Americans; but, they maintained, this did not compel them to be pro-British in sympathy, nor did it oblige them to renounce all of their former cultural traditions. As Professor von Klenze, of Brown University, said: "A new nation has been forming. We wish to create a new culture essentially American; that is, versatile and daring to a degree never attained by English culture. If the American people as a whole were to become musical like the Teutons and the Slavs, sensitive to color like the Italians, were to develop a deference for language like the French, without losing Anglo-Saxon straightforwardness, political sense, and control, then the America of the future would correspond to that picture which, consciously or unconsciously, even the severest Anglo-Saxon New Englander is cherishing in his heart."

On the question of preparedness by the United States, the large majority of the speakers favored adequate naval and military defense; but the general sentiment of the Conference was that a system of competitive international armaments would give no security against the recurrence of such world wars as the present. The causes of wars, it was frequently pointed out, must be lessened and gradually entirely removed. Since a large proportion of recent wars have sprung out of international economic rivalry, many of the speakers emphasized the necessity of extending the "open door" policy in commerce and trade to all colonial and dependent territory throughout the world. Admiral Chadwick, U. S. N., made the definite suggestion that equality of commercial and economic opportunity be agreed upon for all colonial territory acquired by any nation since 1880; that would mean the open door in such lands as the Philippines, Morocco, Egypt, Tripoli, and Manchuria.

Preparedness in national policy, as well as in army and navy, was urged by Norman Angell, the leading British peace advocate. He stated that the United States seemed to be drifting into war, and, according to all indications, would have war before many years. This would come about, he believed, through the unnecessary clash of policy between the United States and such a state as Germany; probably over a dispute as to whether the Monroe Doctrine gave the United States any preferential economic advantages in Latin America. The causes of this probable war might be avoided by a careful definition of the Monroe Doctrine and a promise to Germany, embodied in treaty, that this country would never stand in the way of perfect equality of commercial opportunity throughout this hemisphere.

As to the results of the war, opinions differed. While some believed that a German victory would intensify autocratic militarism throughout the world, Dr. Stanton Coit, of London, maintained that, no matter who should win, democracy would be greatly strengthened, and that it would show itself in social legislation for the benefit of the mass of the people in such measures as workingmen's insurance, old-age pensions, and, further, in the more stringent control of capitalism by the state. Even the German sympathizers seemed to look forward to an increased efficiency in government as a result of the war, and increased social democracy. So far as political effects upon America are concerned, Dr. Manoel de Oliveira Lima, one of the foremost scholars and diplomats of Brazil, pointed out that the war has already resulted in a notable strengthening of Pan-Americanism. An unexpected result of the great struggle was presented by the Hon. Francis Neilson, a radical Member of Parliament, who, in speaking of the effects of martial law in England, stated that no nation could attempt to crush militarism in Europe by force without creating within its own territory the very thing it set out to destroy in another land.

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THE NATIONS AT WAR

I—A FORTNIGHT IN GERMANY

BY SANFORD GRIFFITH

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT OF THE OUTLOOK IN GERMANY

*Having studied political science in both Germany and France not only at universities but also by personal investigations, and speaking French, German, Italian, and Flemish, Mr. Griffith has had the sort of experience that fits him for such observations as are here recorded. During the past year he has had privileges accorded to few, if any, others for an intimate view of certain aspects of the war.—*THE EDITORS.

WE entered Berlin the night of the fall of Wilna. From Hanover soldiers clambered aboard the train at every station along the way. As the train pulled out men half out of the windows waved farewell to their women and children until they disappeared, small black groups in the distance. The numbers of military increased to a point at which the platforms were practically given over to them.

Streets were brilliantly lighted. Taxis bumped along on their rims—tires are *hors-de-prix*—but taxis there were. What horses there had been were either dead or dying. In a twenty-minute walk that evening I saw three of them down on the street.

At the Rheingold it took us ten minutes to find a table, half an hour to be served. An orchestra struggled valiantly with "Tannhäuser," but the music was lost in that crowd. The menu was of the usual bulkiness. There was no check on either wine or champagne. As the waiter deposited a diminutive roll at the plate he asked in a perfunctory way for a bread ticket. As I had none, he pulled out several from his pocket and detached a number.

Wherever we dined in Berlin they asked for the bread cards. In other parts of Germany, although we were occasionally given the cards, I do not recall that we ever made use of them. The Mayor of Berlin, in speaking of the municipal grain supply, explained that last year there was only just enough, and that by use of the cards the daily apportionment did not exceed the allowance. "This year," he said, "with Bulgaria coming into the war"—this was several weeks before the event happened—"and our own large harvest, we are assured of more than enough."

Outside the war zone it is possible that there are parts of Germany which suffered from the shortage in grain; but speaking for one or two villages outside of Berlin and a number of villages along the Rhine, the poorer classes have fared better than the Berlin proletariat.

The morning after the fall of Wilna flags, including frequently the flag of Bulgaria, were hung from all of the principal buildings. There was no particular jubilation. Those with whom I spoke seemed to take Wilna and victory as a matter of course. One of the illustrated papers came out that day with a cartoon of the Czar being led *Unter den Linden* by a very Teuton-faced Angel of Peace, while Poincaré and George V, sitting on a bench at one side, looked on in consternation. Popular opinion about Russia is that after she has been made to suffer enough there will be no difficulty in buying her off.

Are the people well informed? This was a question I frequently asked. "In what are we not?" was the invariable rejoinder. "You will find the French official bulletins in our papers. Our casualty lists are complete. And you can buy the London 'Times' or your iniquitous New York 'Herald' every morning at your hotel."

Gaps cut by the censor's scissors are usually filled in the German paper. There is an apparent freedom combined with the most rigid censorship. Hard experience has taught most papers to suffer with docility, and some of the papers, like mediæval saints, seemed to take a morbid pleasure in effacing themselves. The people, who know now that foreign press agencies circulate nothing but lies, are, as a whole, content that "war expediency" should deprive them of much of the news. For months Herr Fleichmann, over a hearty *Hindenburger Schnitzel mit Kartoffeln*, has laughed complacently at reports—scrupulously culled and republished from the foreign press—"Starvation forces Germany to her knees," or "People on the

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verge of hunger riots." "You see we get our foreign news daily, and we know just what it is worth," he explains. Foreign papers are not read, and the more favorable a foreign report the more convinced—and this includes otherwise well-informed readers—they are of its insincerity. "They take the official reports as the Bible," a German publicist remarked to me.

This deadened critical sense was to me the most unwholesome phenomenon in Germany to-day. To discuss any political question the only points of departure were these two assertions: the infallibility of the official bulletin, and the fact that the war had been forced upon Germany; that it was due largely to the perfidy of Sir Edward Grey, with the connivance of such arch-chauvinists as Delcassé and Millerand.

Three of the six most widely read books in Germany on the war are by foreigners. Two are from the pen of the Englishman Houston Stewart Chamberlain,[1] recently decorated with the highest civilian order of the Iron Cross: "Justification for War" (*Kriegsaufsätze*) and "A New Justification," of which over two hundred thousand have already been sold; and another of his books "Confidence" (*Zuversicht*) is already past three hundred thousand. The other book of foreign authorship is by Sven Hedin, the Swedish explorer; it contains a journal of his year with the German armies at the front. Other much-quoted books, taken at random, are "Germany as a World Leader," "Belgium's Guilt," "The Vampire of the Continent" (England), and "Problems for Favorable Peace."

As compared with other countries, the amount of literature on the war published in Germany is very great. There is at least three times as much as in France, and as much again of a serious sort as in England. Unfortunately much of the value of the popular literature is lost in pure propaganda.

Just a year ago, when the German drive toward Calais was at its height, I accompanied in a cattle car a convoy of German prisoners pulled out of the mud near Ypres. There was a sub-lieutenant among them, a young, timid chap with a strong South German accent. Recalling not infrequent friction between the genial Bavarian and a certain type of Prussian officer, I asked him about the sentiment in South Germany. He replied, promptly:

"I am instructor in a school in Munich. Before the war there was always a northern caste snobbishness disagreeable to us, and there was, of course, jealousy. But since the war we are all united—an *einziges Volk*. If we win, we can thank Prussia for her organization and discipline. If we lose, we will realize once and for all that the Prussian ideal was not pushed far enough."

An officer in the Military College put tersely what I heard repeated over and over again in the Rhineland as well as at Berlin:

"We are in this war fighting reactionary Russia, the savage hordes and mercenaries of our enemies. Without victory the very existence of our Empire is at stake, and every German knows it."

I heard the same in the little German-Dutch border town of Elten from the mother of three sons in a Rhine regiment. She asserted proudly that the Rhine regiments had fought and suffered as much as those from any other part of Prussia.

There is no unity of opinion about Belgium. It is known that Chancellor von Bethmann Hollweg is opposed to annexation. The Kaiser keeps Bethmann in office, and therefore, it is argued, the Kaiser would be opposed to annexation there.

"And the invasion of Belgium?" I asked of an officer acquaintance.

"A people who regret their rash move. France, who was to help them, came too late. The English made a ridiculous display before Antwerp, and are alone responsible for the damage done there. We do not care to annex Belgium, but, if we did, it would be a good thing for the country. Our efficient administration, '*streng aber recht*,' has done great things for Belgium during the first year of our occupation. We are establishing normal conditions in the coal regions, and are applying for the first time an age limit in the mines. We have introduced compulsory education and will reduce illiteracy of a degree to which no European nation, except perhaps such backward ones as England and Russia, would care to confess without blushing."

I drove one morning from Elten to Emmerich with a dealer who sells horses which stray across the Dutch frontier. He too knew Belgium: "Belgium received what was jolly well coming to her. If the world thinks we are going to give up what we have conquered

[1] Though an Englishman by birth, he has lived for some time in Germany. He married the daughter of the composer, Richard Wagner.—THE EDITORS.

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with such loss of life, it is more gullible than the Belgians are themselves." Frankness was his virtue. There is an echo of this same sentiment among the people, though a very considerable faction of the Social-Democratic party is combating the idea.

Germany will not forgive America for a long time for selling munitions to the Allies. A friend with whom I was traveling was seated in the restaurant of the Hotel Ernst at Cologne. The head waiter stepped over to him and, without further introduction, exclaimed, "The English be damned!" As my friend was not prompt in giving the expected echo to this sentiment, the waiter asked his nationality. "American," was too much for him. "England is responsible for this war. You are supplying her with munitions. Are you coming into it? I wish you would. We are giving England her due, and your turn comes next."

Personally I met no discourtesy, though on several occasions I was obliged to speak English loudly enough in theaters and restaurants to give ample provocation. It was apparent, however, that Americans were not loved.

After the director had courteously showed us about the large military hospital at Buch, he took us to the storerooms. Here in one place were American canned goods—Prince Henry peaches—piled to the ceiling. The strain was too much for the amiable director. "These are not the only canned goods you have been sending us lately," and he waved his arm toward a soldier with a couple of bad shrapnel scars across the face who was paring potatoes in the next room.

The general in command of the camp for interned French prisoners at Darmstadt received us in his office very amiably. He explained the organization of the camp, but just before our departure took down from the wall one of the new French anti-shrapnel helmets, and with some bitterness added, "Made in America."

These are a few casual impressions. Like a great factory completely installed with emergency machinery, Germany at war has set in motion forces that had been carefully prepared for years. There are the usual phenomena of war: high prices, women at heavy work, at the plow—I have even seen them with pickaxes in gangs along the railways and on the trucks of Berlin. The country, as a whole, however, gives an overwhelming impression of unity. Germany seems an overworked example of an overworked word—"efficiency." Perhaps nothing more nearly expresses it than to say, Germany is normally at war.

II—RUSSIA'S WAR OF INDEPENDENCE

BY GREGORY MASON

"WHEN the Germans win, papa cries; and when the Russians win, mamma cries."

This remark, imputed to the Czarevitch, the heir apparent to the Russian throne, may or may not have been made by him. That is a question of no importance in the face of the fact that hundreds of thousands of Russians believe that he made it and in view of the greater fact that millions of them know that there exists the state of affairs which such a remark would indicate. The Russian royal house, the entire Russian Court, in fact, is a house divided against itself.

In an interview with Sergius Sazonoff, published in The Outlook last week, I told how the Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs said to me:

"The attempts from without and *from within* to bring Russia to a separate peace with Germany have been stronger than the world dreams." Sazonoff thereby confirmed what I heard from the lips of officers, waiters, nobles, cab-drivers, merchants, merchants' wives, society ladies, and chambermaids from the time I entered Russia through freezing Archangel until I left it through frozen Finland. The peril of the treachery of German sympathizers in Russia is a peril which every real Russian sees clearly and is striving mightily to circumvent. Russia would have been led into a traitorous peace with Germany long ago but for the unceasing vigilance and unimpeachable honesty of millions of such true Russians, from the soldiers in the ranks to men like Paul Milyoukov, leader of the Constitutional Democratic party, Sazonoff, and the Grand Duke Nikolai Nikolaievitch. It may seem strange to bracket men like Milyoukov and the Grand Duke, but they have one important trait in common: both are *Russian* to the

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bone. Both have unflinchingly fought this internal danger, which, as Sazonoff said, "has by no means ceased," and which is a principal reason why Russia is still the weak link in the chain of the Allies.

Thus far, whatever has been said against him, the Czar has not been accused of grave complicity in the plotting against his own Empire, and the principal charges of the people against him are that he is weak or stupid, that his only ambitions are for himself and the Romanof dynasty, and that he is an easy tool for others with more malevolent designs. But the people believe, and say with a frankness unprecedented in Russia, that their Empress, who was a Princess of Hesse, and who has been in alleged secret correspondence with her brother, the Duke of Hesse, since the beginning of the war, loves Germany with more than the love of a sister. She and the unsavory Rasputin, a figure somewhat akin to the sorcerers found at mediæval courts, and a character more uniquely disreputable and more grotesquely diabolical than any to be found at any other Court to-day, are placed by popular talk at the head of the *camarilla*, the cabal of evil counselors who love Germany not wisely but too well, and who would make their Russia a kind of annex to the Kaiser's realm if they had their way. The title of *Baron* is a German title, of course, and most of the Russian barons and many of the Russian counts have German names, while many of them, like Count Fredericks, the Minister of the Court, are rumored to be secretly pro-German. From this group and from similar groups at Court, in the army, in the navy, in society, among the nobles and big landowners, there has come some downright treachery and a good deal of half-hearted support of the war, which representatives of the Russian autocracy have at times said quite openly was a war against the Power that has been the main prop and bulwark of that autocracy in the past. This opinion has been voiced in the reactionary press, and it is not difficult even for a foreigner who has gained the confidence of a few upper-class Russians to hear this opinion privately expressed. A Russian officer of no little importance, with a distinguished record for bravery and of undoubted loyalty so far as his *acts* were concerned, yet expressed to me the opinion "that it will be best for civilization if the Germans win, because the efficient civilization of Germany is the highest civilization existing to-day; and it will be best for the Russians if the Germans win, because in that case Russia will be confined to its natural limits and developed intensively."

"Then why are you fighting against Germany?"

"Oh, fate put me where I am, in the boots of a Russian officer, and the shortest cut to position, fame, fortune perhaps, to the things that all men want, lies for me through the road of devotion to duty. But why the poor ignorant peasants fight I do not understand. For them there is no fame or fortune; only hard blows, death in a muddy hole, or, at best, a few kopeks and no thanks for their pains."

The "poor ignorant peasants," however—not so ignorant, after all—are fighting largely because they realize that this war is not suicide for Russia, as so many of the Germanophile nobility believe, but is a war of independence for the real Russia, the Russia of the Slavs, the Russia of Gogol and Tolstoy. It is largely that knowledge which makes the war so popular with the people.

As a matter of fact, both elements are right in their view-point. During the fifteen years just previous to this war, and particularly during the decade since the Russo-Japanese War, Germany had been tightening her hold on Russia and had been slowly crushing out the breath of Russian nationality. Her commercial treaty with Russia, negotiated when the latter country had the war with Japan on her hands, gave her a death grip on the resources of the Czar's country. This treaty, by the way, was to expire in 1916, and Germany's knowledge that Russia would be loth to reaffirm it may have been a contributory cause of the war. When Germany declared war on Russia, her trade with the latter country was greater than the trade of any four other countries combined. Russian furs, Russian minerals, Russian wheat, largely reached the outside world through Germany. German was the language of business in Russia; Russian business men considered their own language too plebeian, "too much *muzhik*," for their use. Largely as a result of the attitude of their ante-bellum German business associates they have come to consider it their duty to learn foreign languages, not the duty of foreigners to learn Russian. So to some Russian business men and to many Russian bureaucrats a war with the Power whose sons smelted Russia's iron for her, dressed her furs for her, and paternally superintended much of

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her trade while discouraging all mutinies against the high-handed rule of the Czar as "bad for business," seemed, indeed, like national suicide. And so to the mass of the real Russians, from *muzhiks* to nobles, who want their Russia for themselves and want her to stand before the world on her own feet, this is a war of independence.

This accounts for much of the popularity of the towering Grand Duke Nicholas, still one of the most popular men in Russia, whose picture hangs in every other shop window on the Nevski Prospect and in every café in the country three months after its handsome original has been banished to the obscurity of the Caucasus. There are ten portraits of the great Grand Duke in Moscow and Petrograd to one of the Czar; and the blond King of the Belgians runs the Duke a bad second for pictorial publicity.

"Whatever he is, he is a Russian first of all," they say about the Grand Duke; and even the radicals, the members and supporters of the Progressive Bloc, and others even more extreme, who are opposed to all autocracies, say they would prefer a thoroughly Russian one headed by him to the present one tainted with Germanism. "The only honest man in Russia," was the way a cab-driver characterized the Grand Duke to me; and the people are still telling how at the beginning of war the Grand Duke said to the Czar, "I'll take care of the Germans from Germany if you'll take care of the Germans in Petrograd."

"And it's because the Czar didn't handle the Germans in Petrograd that our army had to fall back before the other Germans from the Carpathians to Dwinsk," the man on the street will tell you, and he will go on to narrate that story about treachery in the purchase of ammunition. Several hundred thousand shells were ordered from Japan, it is said, and an equal number from the United States. The astute Japanese noticed that the specifications called for a shell of different size from what they knew to be the caliber of the Russian guns. They ignored the specifications, made the shells according to their own knowledge, and the shells fitted the guns. The American manufacturers, however, filled the order exactly as it was given, and the shells made by them did not fit! This story has wide credence, like many similar stories of treachery in high quarters, and like the tale of the Polish merchant who, being haled before the Czar and noticing the large number of evident Germans in his Majesty's retinue, congratulated his ruler on having taken so many prisoners of rank!

Some of the stories of this sort in circulation may be false or exaggerated, but it is significant that the Russian people believe them; and with all this smoke there is certainly a good deal of fire. There are literally thousands of persons in Petrograd who would like to welcome Hindenburg and Mackensen to their city. Not only the Germanophile nobility, but many Poles, Jews, and Finns, and members of other groups which have their private grievances against their Government, have been keeping little war maps in private and exultingly pushing up the colored pins as the Teutonic battle line advanced through their country.

A Russian citizen with whom I had only a slight acquaintance approached me in all the openness of the lobby of Petrograd's gayest hotel and, hooking me by the buttonhole after glancing about furtively for possible auditors, whispered jubilantly:

"I've just heard from unimpeachable sources that the Germans have taken ten miles of Russian trenches, and that Minsk will now be easy for them. A few weeks more and you'll see them coming up the Nevski Prospect."

He was hurt and surprised when I failed to exhibit joy at such a prospect.

United as the mass of the Russian people are so far as the prosecution of the war against Germany is concerned, there is much discontent with the present Government among them, and only a slight additional irritation would suffice to bring on a revolution, or at least rioting and other outbreaks which Germany would call a revolution. I will deal with this subject in a subsequent article, but in connection with the subject of treachery and pro-German plotting in Russia it is noteworthy that the belief is common there that many of the inconveniences which may be unavoidable in the strain of war, or which may be due merely to inefficiency, are deliberately planned by German sympathizers in the Government to irritate the people to the point of revolting—an event that would be greatly to the advantage of the Kaiser. This is said of the shortage of sugar in Moscow and Petrograd, while there is plenty of it in southern Russia—a shortage that is the basis for a regulation forbidding the sale of sugar by dealers except in very small quantities,

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which makes it necessary for the people to stand for hours through wind, rain, and snow while they wait for their allotted quantities of the precious sweet. It is also hinted that there was a treacherous plot responsible for the sudden disappearance of silver coin, with the issuance thereafter of paper money of the appearance of postage stamps without the gum—an annoying currency, as it is easy to lose and as it disentegrates after being a few weeks in circulation. One very flagrant case of provocation was being perpetrated while I was in Moscow. Nine captured Austrian officers were living there in complete freedom with the knowledge of the police, a measure coolly calculated to anger the people to the point of explosion. One of them, an Austrian Pole of noble birth, had been recommended by the rascally Moscow Prefect of Police to the use of the American Consulate as an aid in the business of protecting Austrian and German interests in Russia, which have been intrusted to the American diplomatic and consular services since the outbreak of war. Under guise of transmitting legitimate messages to Germany and Austria in regard to Teutonic prisoners of war through the consular despatches, he was discovered to be sending his Government most important information of the resources of Russia and at the same time plotting to bring the excellent American Consul-General, Mr. J. H. Snodgrass, into bad odor with the Russian Government and cause his removal, evidently actuated by the utterly mistaken belief that Mr. Snodgrass was too good a friend of Russia to deal justly with German subjects there. The man's schemes were discovered, and when I left Moscow the Governor-General of that province was putting wheels in motion to secure a Siberian vacation for the Austrian nobleman.

In their treacherous efforts to eliminate Russia as a factor in the war, Germany's agents and sympathizers in the Czar's Empire have had the assistance of a very efficient staff of German press agents in neutral countries, and in particular of a most able corps of news distorters in Stockholm. The aim of these men has been to exaggerate every report of internal disorder in Russia, to fabricate other "news" of this sort, and to confuse the outside world as to Russia's true position by making the Russian Government appear alternately reactionary and liberal. Thus the gravity of the strikes in Petrograd munitions factories last summer was greatly exaggerated in despatches which these energetic Munchausens managed to foist upon many neutral newspapers, the meeting of the zemstvos in Moscow a few months ago was falsely represented as being openly revolutionary in spirit, while false reports were circulated in the United States that the Duma had asked for universal suffrage and many other sweeping reforms which it never demanded. And, so far as I could learn, the Czar's famous appeal to the Jews at the beginning of the war, in which he promised rewards for their loyalty, was made up out of whole cloth, or at least was a grossly exaggerated account of something the Czar may have said. This was deliberately planned with a view to the reaction that the Jews would feel when the traditional policy of the Government toward them was continued in spite of this alleged promise of the "Little Father."

With all the treachery, open and lurking, which has hampered Russia in this war, it is doubtful if there is a coherent, organized propaganda for peace with Germany among subjects of the Czar. Many traitors there are and much treachery, but, fortunately for Russia, thus far their efforts have not been well co-ordinated.

Patriotic citizens are constantly alleging the existence of an organized movement for a separate peace, but the evidence does not warrant their accusations. A large group of individuals there undoubtedly is, however, who are German in their sympathies and who are doing all they can to stop what they consider a war between Russia and her best friend. This group is composed principally of three classes of Russians: first, those of German extraction, who are still loyal to the land from which they originally sprung; second, bureaucrats, who feel that their positions and salaries are in more danger from the impetus to liberalism that a victory of the Allies may bring about in Russia than from a triumph of Germany with the impetus to reaction that it would probably bring; and, third, those in general who prefer an absolutist form of government and know that the only capable defender of the absolutist idea in Europe to-day, against the democratic idea as exemplified by England and France, is Germany. Such persons must be given the credit for being sincere. They point out for you the contrast between the spectacle of Germany "gloriously efficient" and demo-

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cratic America and England torn by internal dissent, and they say, with bland assurance: "You see the difference between an autocracy and a democracy; we prefer the former." And, since they have a well-considered argument with some evidence to support it and are thoroughly convinced, it is futile to reason with them.

Fortunately, the number of such persons grows fewer as the war continues. Some of them, who were too bold, have been summarily eliminated, and the others are becoming less bold as the angry resistance of the true Russians stiffens before the danger to their country. The thought of what England and Japan could and would do to a treacherous ally has probably stayed the hand of more than one conspirator; and, in particular, the spectacle of Japan standing like a policeman with drawn club at Russia's back has done much to keep her straight. But principally, for Russia's continued allegiance to their cause, the Allies can thank the Russian people in the mass.

Recognizing how closely the struggle of the French and British democracies against Teutonic absolutism is related to their own struggle for freedom, the Russian people are giving their support to the cause of the Allies with a virtual unanimity which is sublime.

PROGRESS AND REACTION IN PENNSYLVANIA

I—HARRISBURG'S VISION

A PERSONAL INTERVIEW WITH GOVERNOR BRUMBAUGH BY CHARLES PHILLIPS COOPER

IN the executive chair at Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, sits a Governor who, it is said, has not met Senator Boies Penrose, the so-called political leader of the State, since he was inaugurated, and this in a Commonwealth where, in the belief of the country at large, practical politics has its real abiding-place. This Governor, in the face of hidebound conservatism, has put on his State's statute-books legislation whose avowed object is social betterment in communities in which the living and working conditions of the industrial element in the past have provoked country-wide criticism.

Martin Grove Brumbaugh, LL.D., schoolmaster by profession, is the latter-day exemplification of the scholar in politics. His career is an anomaly—a teacher, a preacher, an educator known the country over, he has shown himself a master-hand in politics. He has been able to adapt himself to the conditions of active political work; has lived every minute up to his highest moral and religious beliefs; and now, in the first year of his four-year term as Governor of Pennsylvania, sees progressive reforms adopted with equanimity by an old boss-ridden Eastern State, and has marked out a plan of campaign which insures further legislation looking to the betterment of living conditions in the country's greatest industrial commonwealth.

How did the schoolmaster get into politics? How has he reconciled his conservative moral ideals with working political conditions? The country thinks the condition is an anomaly; how does Governor Brumbaugh view it? These were some of the questions which recently were put to the executive of Pennsylvania.

I met the Governor in his home city of Philadelphia, where for many years, up to the time he was inaugurated in January last, he was Superintendent of the Public Schools. As it grew dark he looked out over the crowds of workers hurrying to their homes and said, thoughtfully:

"It's a good old State and I love it. I want to set it right."

The Governor speaks with feeling. He is more than six feet tall, massive in frame, with a strong, intellectual face framed in iron-gray hair. Piercing black eyes under overhanging brows are his distinctive physical feature. His natural mode of thinking is deeply religious. A few words sum up his scheme of government.

"A politician is a good sport," he said, with a happy twinkle from under those great

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shaggy eyebrows. "He knows when to heed the will of the people. The leaders in the Legislature helped me to get my bills through. I talked it over with them, and they are sensible men and we agreed on things.

"I had to hold a tight hand on the purse-strings, however. I sent for the leaders one day and told them that we were planning to spend more money than we would have. My hint was not taken, however, and I had to veto bills carrying appropriations of $7,000,000."

That is Governor Brumbaugh's political policy. Let him tell how he happened to turn to active politics after a lifetime in school work, how he won his own nomination, what he has done since his inauguration, and what he hopes to do. It must be understood that Governor Brumbaugh was a man of wide administrative experience before he took charge at Harrisburg, though he is still a young man. Born in Huntingdon in 1862, educated at Juniata College, he became its President in 1895, and for eleven years served his Alma Mater with distinction. Appointed our first Commissioner of Education to Porto Rico in 1900, he established there a comprehensive system of public schools. For five years he was Professor of Pedagogy in the University of Pennsylvania, and for eight years before his entrance into politics was Superintendent of Schools in Philadelphia.

"I was twenty-two years old," the Governor said, "when I was elected to my first office, Superintendent of Schools of Huntingdon County of this State. When I took that office, I determined that I would always do the duty in hand and not play the present position for any future office. That has always been my policy, the foundation of all my work. I went from one place to another in school work and lectured at church and school conventions. In that way I built up an acquaintance all over this great State, but I never had a political career or political office in mind. My work was all in the line of education, and before many years I knew most of the teachers of the State. What came afterward to me was the natural result of the past.

"In 1913 in this State we adopted a State-wide primary law, and I saw at once that only a man whose record would bear scrutiny could hope to win the nomination for Governor. That was my opportunity. I was not ashamed of my record. I saw that there was the chance for a school man of wide acquaintance and I saw also that no boss could control that nomination.

"I determined to go into the primaries. Some school-teacher friends of mine helped me in the preliminary work. I had, as a result of the work of these old friends who knew me, 72,000 names on my nominating petitions. Then began the primary fight. I wrote a little pamphlet of four pages which summed up my political creed, and school friends of mine, all volunteer workers, addressed them, and we sent them to every corner of the State. There were five other candidates on the primary ticket. I won by 256,000 votes. That is how I got the nomination for Governor.

"There remained the ratification of the will of the people at the Pittsburgh Convention. Before the Convention met I went to my house in Maine and rested. After all the formalities had been attended to I came back here. First I went to my old home in Huntingdon and, as a candidate, talked to those who had known me as a boy. I talked to them as plain Martin Brumbaugh who had swept the floors of the Juniata College buildings and had rung the bell when a student. I knew that they believed in Martin Brumbaugh, and I talked to them from my heart.

"I told them that the Republican party in the past had been long on promises but short on execution, but that if I were elected I would do what I promised. They knew I would, and I guess that the rest of the voters thought the same thing.

"That is how I got the nomination. It was like taking candy from a child. They all knew me and believed in me. That is how I, an educator, got into practical politics. Is it an anomaly?"

An illustration of the new spirit that pervades Pennsylvania is found in the inaugural address that Governor Brumbaugh made in January last in the Capitol at Harrisburg—the Capitol of fraud memory.

"In assuming the duties of the office to which you have elected me," he said, "I am humbled and steadied by the greatness of the obligation imposed and the abiding conviction that I can do my duty only when aided and guided by the Divine. In His name and for His people I enter upon this new field of endeavor."

And Martin Brumbaugh meant every word of that statement. What did he accomplish?

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Summed up in the first session of the Legislature under his administration these bills were passed:

1. A Workmen's Compensation Law, which goes into effect on January 1, 1916. This measure is wide in its application and follows the line of progressive thought.

2. A Child Labor Law, which marks out a new path in this reform. The striking features of this law were the ideas of Governor Brumbaugh.

3. Legislation taking the Roads Department of the State entirely out of politics and putting it in the hands of men who are practical road builders, and supporting these men with expert road engineers. The Road Department formerly was a rich political plum.

4. A law establishing in the Department of Labor and Industry a system of regulation of employers seeking employees and of employees seeking work, and a retirement pension for old, faithful employees.

5. A law requiring counties to establish schools for the care of girls under the jurisdiction of the courts.

6. A law establishing a tax on the mining of anthracite and bituminous coal to raise revenue.

7. A consolidation and reorganization of the whole Agricultural Department to carry out the idea thus voiced in the Governor's inaugural Message: "The funds for the advancement of our agricultural interests ought to express themselves much more largely in wheat and corn and potatoes, and less in clerical and other forms of routine service. Let us legislate for the farmer rather than the office-holder."

8. An amendment to the anthracite code making the mine-owners responsible for their foremen, who formerly, under a kink in the statutes, were held to be agents of the State.

Of all this mass of legislation of a progressive sort perhaps Governor Brumbaugh takes most pride in the Child Labor Law, for in it are expressed ideas new to this movement in aid of the child. Let him describe the effect of the law:

"If I had not been a schoolmaster and known school work, I would not have had the nerve to propose some of the things that are in the Child Labor Law as it was passed last winter, but I knew my ground. In this legislation the State of Pennsylvania has taken a great step in advance. Briefly, the law provides that no child under fourteen years of age shall go to work. Between the ages of fourteen and sixteen the child may work under certain conditions—with the so-called working papers. The new feature of the law that appeals to me is the fact that the child is required to continue his education while he is working.

"Moreover, this education is at the expense of the employer. The law limits the child between the ages of fourteen and sixteen to fifty-one hours of work a week, and of these fifty-one hours he must spend eight hours in school. There was of old a danger zone in the time between fourteen and sixteen for children who had to go to work. With only a smattering of learning, they were of little use to the employer and of less use to the State.

"While I was Superintendent of the Philadelphia schools I suppose that on an average I issued 25,000 of those working certificates every year. That meant that the school days of all those children were over. The boy might go to a place and work a week, and then the employer, finding him useless, would dismiss him, and the boy would go out on the street.

"We had licensed loafers learning crime. Now an employer, as soon as he dismisses a boy, must mail the working certificate back to the school authorities, who must keep track of the child.

"That, however, is not the only feature that appeals to me. The State will spend $1,000,000 a year in these continuation schools, which will be taught by men and women who are familiar with shop conditions, who know the problems that the child encounters in his work, and will advise him. He will adapt the school work to the shop work, and the result will be a boy who is an asset to the State instead of a liability.

"How I'd like to teach one of those classes! I think that it is providential that a great industrial State like this has had a chance to blaze the way in this reform that will make good citizens out of those boys who have to go to work."

For years local option has been a live question in Pennsylvania. Governor Brumbaugh lost in his great fight last winter on this issue, but he is not yet "licked."

"Local option has had a setback," he remarked, grimly. "They had the cards stacked against me. Many members of the Legislature were elected on a saloon platform, and of course under those condi-

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tions I lost. But there will be other legislatures.

"If the people want saloons let them have them, but let the people decide the question. The courts and the Legislature have no right to block the will of the people. In our State the county courts grant the liquor licenses, and in the past judges in many cases were not elected with the idea in mind whether they would hold the scales of justice evenly, but whether they would vote for a saloon license. That was the scandal of the situation. The country districts in most cases are natural dry territory and the cities wet. What I was fighting for was to let the people decide for themselves. The idea has got to win out in the end. If you believe in your democracy, you have got to trust the people.

"I believe in the people. If I have any secret of success, that is it. The people have a perfect right to know and shall know what I stand for. When I took charge of the schools here in Philadelphia they were starved. I called the parents of the various districts to meetings in the schools and I put the case before them plainly. 'Do you want to send your children to such school-houses as these?' I said. I went from district to district. I had 200,000 parents organized as a Home and School Association—and we got the appropriations that we needed to bring about decent conditions.

"About that time a wise old-time politician said, 'You can't beat him in the school business. He can talk for nothing to the parents of the community in the school-houses, and we have to hire a band and a hall.' That is what I do," the Governor said, "take my case direct to the people."

Governor Brumbaugh then turned to his constructive ideas for the future.

"This State loses each year," he said, "$125,000,000 from sickness and death due to preventable illness. Where can the State better employ its energies than in preventing this awful waste?

"I want to get the best sanitary and civil engineering talent that can be engaged, put this talent at the disposal of the people of the State, and I want to see that we have such housing conditions that that terrible waste will be stopped. I want to arrange matters so that the farmer who is going to build a new pig-sty or a chicken-coop can drop a postal card to the Capitol and an engineer will go to his farm and tell him where to put his new building so that the refuse will not drain into the well and give his family typhoid fever. Not alone will the farmer benefit, for I think that the problem of housing conditions is one of the great problems of the day. I would have the houses in our industrial centers constructed on sanitary lines and at the same time have an eye for the æsthetic, for with proper advice the householder will construct along good lines and the farmer will place his outbuildings so that nature shall not be shocked.

"At the same time we shall save the lives of the countless babies who now are lost because of ignorance. Leave out of the calculation the sentimental side of it. Is it worth while for the State to save $125,000,000 a year which now is thrown away through ignorance and neglect?

"Let us ignore the anguish of parents and the whole sentimental side of it. I think it is worth while.

"My whole idea is to make it easier to live and to live right.

"Then we are going to stop loose legislation. I believe that we are over-lawed. Why, at the first session of the Legislature we repealed many measures, and a committee is now at work with the idea that at the next session we will repeal as many as one thousand laws now on the books. Soon after I was inaugurated I sent for the Attorney-General and instructed him to go over every bill in the Legislature and see that it was in proper shape, so that if passed it would be upheld by the courts.

"We are going to stop that waste of energy, and we will pass laws that will stay on the books and remove that scandal of government by the courts, for that is what it amounts to under conditions that have prevailed."

Governor Brumbaugh is a Dunkard in religious belief. He is the first man of his faith ever to be elected a Governor of any State of the Union. He took no oath of office, but, according to his religion, affirmed simply. He is to-day a devout follower of the religion of his fathers.

"I came to America in 1754," the Governor continued, with emphasis. "I am a Pennsylvania German and am proud of it. But put the emphasis on the Pennsylvania. We are the people who, along with the Quakers and the Scotch-Irish, developed this commonwealth. We are not hyphenated Americans.

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"There is only one nation for the people who live here. If we are not Americans, we are nothing. That is all there is to it.

"I love this old State as devotedly as I can, and I want to make it so clean and sweet and wholesome that its children will thank God that they were born in Pennsylvania."

Such are the views of the chief executive of a State which has produced some of the most notorious political scandals of modern times. Can Governor Brumbaugh set it right?

II—PHILADELPHIA'S STRABISMUS

BY GEORGE W. NORRIS

FORMERLY OF MAYOR BLANKENBURG'S ADMINISTRATION

UNIVERSAL suffrage often produces weird results, but it is seldom that there occurs a result more psychologically interesting or more worthy of analysis than that which was exhibited in the recent local election in Philadelphia. It was a perfectly honest election. It was held in an "off year" when no National or State candidates were voted for, and when the local issues were the only real issues in the campaign. It is to be feared that there are American municipalities which have never known anything but bad government, and may therefore be excused for not knowing that there is anything better. It may be hoped that there are American municipalities which have never known anything but good government, and may therefore be excused for not knowing *how bad* bad government may be. Neither of these excuses can be made for Philadelphia, because under the last two administrations it has had a conspicuous example of each kind. Moreover, there was reason to believe that the "Billy Sunday Revival" of last spring, followed up and continued, as it has been, by a large number of numerously attended men's Bible classes, had considerably stirred the civic conscience. Philadelphia is the third city of the Union—a "City of Homes," which has probably a smaller percentage of foreign-born citizens in its electorate than any other large American city—a city of great and diversified industries—a city with antecedents and local pride—a city which boasts an admirable school system and an intelligent and well-educated population.

It was about eleven years ago that Lincoln Steffens characterized it as "corrupt and contented." A year later Elihu Root described its dominant political organization as "a corrupt and criminal conspiracy masquerading as Republican." Ten years ago the effort of this organization to put through an iniquitous "deal" on the municipally owned gas works precipitated a political revolution, and since that date there has been an almost continuous warfare going on between the "Organization" on one side and a large body of independent voters on the other side, who have rallied at local elections from 80,000 to 135,000 voters. In the course of this ten years' agitation the Philadelphia public has become exceptionally well informed as to local men and measures. An active Bureau of Municipal Research has laid before its citizens, in concise and admirable leaflets, a fund of such information. There has been a Committee of Citizens which devoted itself to insuring honesty in registration and at elections. There has been a "Public Service Committee of 100." The Chamber of Commerce has recently been reorganized and its membership greatly increased, for the very purpose of securing better things for the city.

The revolution of 1905 occurred at a time when only a few minor offices were to be filled, so that the loss to the organization was slight. By the following year there was a reaction, and from 1906 to 1910, inclusive, the Organization elected its tickets, not without a fight, but with safe majorities. The Mayor elected in February, 1907, took his seat in April, and held office until January, 1912. His principal interest in municipal affairs was in a series of magnificent dreams, which he called "comprehensive plans," for a splendid art gallery; a huge "convention hall" with a stadium and aviation field; the moving of the Schuylkill River, which bisects the city; the laying out of boulevards and diagonal thoroughfares; and the creation of a great system of wharves, warehouses, and industrial establishments. Not one of these grandiose plans ever got beyond the paper stage; but while the Mayor mooned and dreamed over them the political leaders who had put him in office and named the subordi-

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nates whose commissions he signed were busy with practical things. There are two peculiar conditions in Philadelphia. One is the fact that there is practically no minority party. Under the vicious system of "minority representation," the Democratic party has become little more than a bi-partisan adjunct of the Republican organization, trading votes in return for a few salaried positions, and the straight Democratic vote has naturally shrunk to negligible proportions. The other is the fact that the two potential political leaders are contractors. They make no attempt to disguise either one of their businesses or the combination of the two. One of them displays his name on a huge sign in a prominent center of the city with the inscription beneath, "Largest Street-Cleaning Contractor in the World." He does all the work for one of the large public utilities companies. Under the administration of this dreaming Mayor a tract of about two hundred and ninety acres was secured for a public park. It averaged about five feet below city level. It was decided to fill it up, and this contractor got the contract at sixty-two cents a square yard. The other contractor does most of the work for another large public utility, and had the contracts for the city's filtration plant, and for the construction of an almost useless boulevard on the outskirts of the city, which was projected principally to bring into the market, at the city's expense, large tracts of land which he and his associates had previously purchased. Instead of this land being assessed for benefits, as it should have been, enormous sums were paid as "damages"—sometimes three or four times the assessed value of an entire tract for cutting off a corner.

In the fall of 1911 the two contractors fell out. One of them wanted to make his brother Mayor. The other protested that this was a violation of the rules—that the Mayor should be a colorless nonentity who would divide the spoils equally between them. Family feeling was stronger than business acumen, and the fight was fought to a finish. The other contractor, driven to straits, secured the assistance of Senator Penrose, got a well-known business man to stand as his candidate, and won the nomination at the primaries. Rudolph Blankenburg, the "Old War Horse of Reform," made the fight for the Independents. The friends and followers of the disappointed contractor were not disloyal, but they "sulked," and Blankenburg won—135,000 to 130,000. He went into office in January, 1912. The borrowing capacity of the city was almost exhausted. Bridges were rusting away. Municipal buildings were dirty, antiquated, and out of repair. Streets and roads were in shocking condition—in some cases almost impassable. Sewers were caving in and water-pipes bursting all over town. The lighting system and the fire-alarm system were obsolete. There was not a single piece of motor-driven fire apparatus. The water-works were barely capable of meeting the demand, with every pump and engine running. Civil service was a howling farce, and all office-holders were subjected to compulsory assessment. Politics was the principal work of the police force. In departments in which engineering knowledge was most essential there was not a single engineer—only men who could "carry their divisions for a yellow dog." No attempt had been made to curb even the most offensive manifestations of the social evil. Under the system by which appointees of the contractors made plans, wrote specifications, awarded and interpreted contracts, and "inspected" the work, there was practically no competition. Supplies were bought in such a way that the city paid extravagant prices and then got short measure of inferior goods. Such was the Augean stable which the "Old Dutch Cleanser"—as Blankenburg was affectionately dubbed—started out to clean. He did it. Politics was eliminated. Assessments were abolished. Civil service was made a real thing. Efficiency and economy were made the characteristics of every department. Stupid plans were abandoned and dishonest or silly contracts canceled. New plans were made for the park. By the obvious expedient of providing for lakes and lagoons the park was made more beautiful, the amount of fill was greatly reduced, and on a reletting the same contractor took the job at thirty cents a yard instead of sixty-two cents. The development of an enormous available area a short distance south of the City Hall had been held back by two sets of railway tracks. Previous administrations had tried in vain for years to secure their removal. By patient and intelligent effort an agreement was secured on terms cheerfully accepted by the railways but more advantageous to the city than had been deemed possible. This agreement provided not only for the removal of the tracks, but for the restoration to the city

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of a great stretch of water-front available for municipal development. An open "Belt Line" was secured. Plans which have attracted Nation-wide approval were made for a system of municipally owned subway and elevated lines; work has been begun, and has progressed rapidly and well within the estimates of cost. The number of municipal docks was quadrupled. Many grade crossings were abolished. Old sewers were rebuilt, and many new ones laid on streets where they had long been urgently needed. Old bridges were repaired and repainted, and many new ones built. The water waste was reduced by careful inspection of leaks and the installation of meters. Desirable legislation was secured. The interest on city deposits was raised. The lighting system was greatly improved. Motor-driven fire apparatus supplanted the horse-drawn. A municipal repair-shop was established. The cost of supplies was cut from ten per cent to fifty per cent on the principal items. Honesty was enforced as to quality and quantity. Police and fire stations were made not only habitable but comfortable. All these things and many more were accomplished, notwithstanding the insistent, persistent, and vindictive opposition of the City Councils, which remained under the control of the contractor bosses. It is another peculiarity of Philadelphia that it adheres to the archaic plan of a "Council" of two chambers, embracing over one hundred and thirty members, every one of whom—with the exception of the small group of Independents—professes allegiance to one or the other of the two contractors. The legislation that the Mayor wanted they refused. The legislation that he did not want they passed over his veto—usually without argument or discussion, and with any evidences of contempt that their fertile imaginations could suggest.

A few weeks before the primaries this fall the two contractors held several conferences at Atlantic City with influential "ward leaders," and then announced that their choice for the Republican nomination for Mayor was a man whom no one else had thought of, and who could not be claimed to have any qualifications for the position. They had the virtue of frankness, and made no such claim for him. He was their "choice." That was all. If he had run without their backing, he could not have commanded 1,300 votes in the whole city. They gave him over 130,000 at the primaries, and made him the nominee. An admirable young man who had served five years in the Council and had for four years given a splendid administration of the police and fire departments under Mayor Blankenburg was the Independent nominee. Both were Republicans in National politics, but Senator Penrose took the stump and told the voters that this was the "line-up" for 1916, and that unless the regular Republican ticket was elected the tariff would be in danger. Do I mean to tell you that the Independents lost? I certainly do. They were beaten by over 75,000 majority. The "regular" ticket polled practically a two-thirds vote. Do you ask how such a thing could happen?

It is agreed by the post-mortem diagnosticians that there were at least four contributing causes. Some of Mayor Blankenburg's supporters were disappointed that he had retained in office many appointees of the Organization under previous administrations. Having promised to respect the Civil Service Law and to give a business administration without thought of politics, he could not do otherwise, but this explanation failed to satisfy either disappointed office-seekers or over-zealous "reformers." Then "outsiders" had been appointed to office. Their number was negligible, and there was a special reason in each case, but Philadelphia is in many respects provincial, and the thing rankled. Again, the Mayor had before his election declared for 80-cent gas. A reduction of the price from $1 to 80 cents involved a loss to the city of over a million and a half dollars annually. In order to redeem his promise the Mayor sent messages to the Councils urging the reduction, and also suggesting means of making up this loss of revenue. To "put the Mayor in a hole" the Councils passed the ordinance providing for the reduction, without providing any means of raising other revenue. As this would have meant municipal bankruptcy, the Mayor had to veto the ordinance, but the adroit effort to "put him in a hole" was largely successful.

The most potent reason, however, was the injection into the campaign by the regular Republican organization of the issue of protection. In discussing the result of the election, the fairest and most conservative of the Philadelphia dailies said: "The people of Pennsylvania have been corrupted by excessive protection, and the tariff talk carried more weight than honest municipal government." This is absolutely true. A

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"leading citizen" once said to me: "I regard protection as the very foundation of prosperity, and I am frank to say to you that I would rather see a certain amount of stealing go on in the city government than do anything that might be regarded as weakening on the principle of protection."

There was another argument which influenced many voters. They were anxious to get certain other municipal improvements, and they saw these improvements held up because of the deadlock between the Mayor and the Councils. They often said, "Why can't the Mayor get along better with the Councils?" The real answer to this question may be found in the fourteenth verse of the sixth chapter of the Second Epistle to the Corinthians: "What fellowship hath righteousness with unrighteousness? And what communion hath light with darkness?" They failed to realize that where a man has two servants, one faithful and the other unfaithful, and his interests are suffering because those two servants cannot work together, the unfaithful, and not the faithful, servant is the one to be discharged. The beam in the politician's eye is either unnoticed or forgotten, but the mote in the reformer's eye is an unbearable disfigurement.

I cannot help thinking that this Philadelphia result is bound to dishearten the workers for good municipal government all over the country and make it increasingly difficult to persuade good citizens to undertake the thankless job of rendering public service. Is it not about time for the leaders of the Republican party to serve notice that the maintenance of Republican principles does not require the maintenance in Philadelphia of a "corrupt and criminal conspiracy masquerading as Republican," and for the leaders of the Democratic party to serve a similar notice as to Tammany? To offend such great vote-getters may be a serious matter, but can any great party or any great principle long survive close association with graft, crime, and vice? Or is it conceivable that the real leaders of these great parties are willing to accept these Furies as the Caryatides of their respective temples?

WAR MUNITIONS

SHALL THE UNITED STATES SHIP THEM TO BELLIGERENTS?

BY H. B. COREY
OF THE NEW YORK BAR

THE United States has no legal power or right to lay an embargo upon the shipment of munitions of war by its citizens.

Such embargo is a war measure, to be resorted to only when the United States is either engaged in war, or about to be engaged in war, or has reasonable ground to believe that it is likely to be in engaged in war with another nation. In that case the United States, through its Congress and Executive, may, in its own discretion, issue an embargo upon the shipment of munitions of war, or other article of commerce, to that nation. The only authority for such an embargo is found in the Constitutional provision which gives Congress the right to declare war. It is an incident solely of the war power. There is no provision whatever in the Constitution which gives the Federal Government the right to lay an embargo except as a mere incident of this war power.

Such an embargo was laid by Congress both as against England and France at a time when war was anticipated with those countries, over one hundred years ago, and it was then defended on the sole ground that the country was likely to become engaged in war; and, as a matter of fact, the United States did have war with both countries.

The recent embargo upon the sale of munitions of war to Mexico was based upon the ground that we were likely to become involved in a war with Mexico and the arms shipped into that country might be used against our own soldiers. Even then there was considerable doubt on the part of Constitutional lawyers as to whether, in view of the President's contention that there was to be no war, the embargo was legally valid.

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So much for the laws of the United States. Those are laws which regulate our conduct alone, and are based upon our Constitution.

This brings us to the second point:

What are the rights and duties under the principles of international law?

The law on this question is settled beyond dispute. It has been agreed upon by all the leading nations of the world, including England, Germany, and the United States.

Neutral governments cannot furnish munitions of war to a belligerent, but its merchants and private citizens can do so without limit. (Article VII, Hague Convention.)

The only remedy of the belligerent is to capture or destroy those munitions of war as contraband when found, after visitation and search, by a war vessel. This is laid down as a fundamental doctrine by writers upon international law without exception. It has been conceded by Ambassador von Bernstorff in one of his notes to the State Department.

It is formally conceded by a German writer in an editorial in the "Berliner Lokalanzeiger." The writer is Eugene Zimmermann, the director-general of that newspaper, and the editorial appeared on June 16, 1915:

The reproach to America for furnishing war materials to our enemies is not fair. It is unjust. It was Germany herself who in the Hague discussions defeated the proposition to forbid the shipment of war materials from the neutral states to belligerents. A free course was left open to private citizens.

He further says of blockade of food supplies:

I cannot share the sentimental policy which resents England's attempt to starve us into submission as a gross barbarity. I cannot share it, because it would be an exquisite pleasure to me to use those same tactics against England. Incidentally, the question is, of course, not one of actual starving several dozens of millions of humans, but simply the idea of forcing the enemy to lay down arms.

He adds that this policy of starvation was pursued by the Germans at the siege of Paris in 1871, and he says that it is a more humane thing than to bombard a civil population.

"Really, the whole thing has been witnessed before in our own history."

Germany furnished munitions of war to England freely for use against the Boers in the Boer War, and this although its sympathies were apparently with the Boers. Germany also furnished munitions of war to Spain during the Spanish-American War. Sweden has been furnishing munitions of war to Germany during this war. No one ever thought of questioning the right of these neutral nations to furnish war materials to a belligerent.

This being the established international law and the uniform practice of Germany, the United States, and all other nations, an attempted embargo by the American Government of war material to a belligerent would be an unneutral act against that belligerent, because it would be in violation of the principles of international law, as well as of United States law, and it would be an act clearly in favor of the other belligerent who could not get those materials. In other words, the United States would be helping Germany as against the Allies, and sacrificing our own legitimate trade in so doing. This would amount practically to an act of war against the Allies, and would justify a declaration of war against the United States.

The mere fact that Germany has not the control of the seas and that it cannot obtain similar shipments is its misfortune, but it cannot affect established rights protected by international law and by express agreement of the nations concerned.

WHAT HAS BECOME OF JONES?

BY BRUCE BARTON

TWO men named Jones graduated from college together ten years ago and came to New York together.

Jones the first was one of the ablest men whom the college had had for a long time, an athlete and a Phi Beta Kappa man. It was easy to predict his success. He found a job with one of the big life insurance companies, and any prejudice which that company may have entertained against the industry and pluck of college graduates was entirely eliminated before Jones had completed his first year. He was at the office earlier than any one else; it was not long before they brought him into the main office and gave him a division superintendency.

Once in three or four months he used to send me a hurriedly dictated note to tell me

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of another raise in salary; but after a while even these ceased, and except for my glimpses of him when I came to New York we lost touch altogether. One of these visits I remember particularly. It was just after he had been made assistant to the general superintendent, and I found him in his new office. There were mahogany and rich rugs, and all the trimmings which in college we had supposed would come to us only at fifty or thereabouts. And Jones had won them all at twenty-eight. I was in his office ten minutes, perhaps; during that time the telephone rang six times, three cards were sent in, and Jones was called out once for a conference. He was under tremendous pressure, but he was carrying it all with the splendid ease of the well-trained man; and I wondered, if he were so far up the ladder at twenty-eight, where might he not be at sixty?

That was three years ago. Last week at the club we got to discussing old friends, and guiltily I thought of Jones. "Where is he now?" I asked; "he was making such a wonderful success. What has become of Jones?"

"Success?" my companion answered; "I should say he was making a success! He was the most successful general superintendent that company ever had. They thought so much of Jones that when he broke down the company sent him away and paid every cent of his expenses in the sanitarium."

The longer I thought about that remark, the more Joneses I remembered. The pastor of one city church said to me recently that there were forty young or middle-aged widows in his congregation and only two widowers—forty women whose husbands had worked themselves to death.

No corporation could work Jones No. 2 into an asylum; there wasn't enough nervous reserve in his make-up to drag out even a year in New York. Six months finished him; he crumpled with the first frost and was whirled away.

He was gone two years. We heard vague rumors at the club that he was working on some farm in Iowa, and we used to say pitying things to each other about him. Foolish ones—for he came back after his two years on the farm a new man. It was not merely that he was browned and that muscles stood out on his arms. The city has eaten many a man who brought it more strength than Jones brought the second time. But he had learned how to beat the city. He eats differently than he did the first time he came, differently than he did in college. He has discovered a way to get regular exercise in a day that has no leisure. And—tell it not to the writers of the Success stories—he has fought down his pride to such an extent that once in a while he even slips over to a Turkish bath at noon and sleeps for two hours in the very middle of a business day.

A young man sat some days ago in the office of the president of one of the largest corporations. "There's something the matter with me," he said; "I'm absolutely all in at the end of the day. I'm nervously bankrupt. What shall I do?"

The older man leaned over and put his hand on the young fellow's knee.

"I know," he said. "I went through the same thing. The years of my life between twenty-one and twenty-eight I hate to remember. You are more fortunate than I am. You can go away for a year, if necessary, and store up strength. I had a family to look after, and I couldn't go. You can't tell me anything about your situation that I don't already know.

"The hardest thing in the world for a young man to learn is his own limitations. Young men plunge into the city as though they didn't have any, and it isn't altogether their fault, by any means. No one has ever warned them. All the stories they have read, all the interviews that successful men hand out for their consumption, all the speeches that are made to them in college, give them to understand that the one tested formula for success is lunch-counter meals and sixteen hours of work a day. I've seen hundreds of them go to pieces trying to make good on that formula. And it's a shame. No, my young friend," the captain of other people's industry concluded, "don't you do it. If you're not physically and nervously right, don't you go on a single day. Take a year off—take two, if necessary; they won't cost you much at your present earning capacity. They'll cost you a lot if you have to take them when you get to be my age. There'll be just as many opportunities for you when you come back as there are now. That's the best advice I can give you. I wish I had been in a position to take it myself when I was your age."

Another man, two years out of college, went to his favorite professor on the Harvard Faculty. "I guess I'm different from anybody else," he said. "I never heard of a

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man being all in at twenty-two; but that's what I am. What shall I do?"

Said the professor: "My boy, there isn't a man on the Harvard Faculty who didn't go through just the same thing at just about your age."

I talked not long ago with one of the ablest and most influential editors in the country, a man whose writings are characterized by unusual insight and virility.

"You are so tremendously well and successful," I said to him—"was there ever a time in your life when you were afraid you were going to break down; were you ever haunted with any dark suspicion that perhaps, after all, you might not make good?"

His face took on a peculiar expression. "I never told you about my first year out of college. It isn't a very pleasant story, and I don't like to repeat it often, even to myself. But your question brings it all back again.

"I had always been pretty well, and when I graduated I supposed, of course, that, being a college man, I was equipped for anything; that all I needed was hard work to insure success. So I got a job—or, rather, my father got it for me—and I started in to put every ounce of energy into it. At the end of six months I got so I wasn't sleeping well; and about that time the boss came to me and told me that I wasn't holding my end up and I'd have to drop out.

"My father was disappointed, too, of course, but he put the best interpretation possible on the thing and helped me to get another job. I clung to that for seven weeks, and again my nervous system bent and broke—

"There's no use in tiring you with the whole story. In a word, I had four jobs my first year out of college, and I failed in all four. At the end of the year my father was disgusted with me, and I had lost every atom of self-respect. Life stretched out before me in gloomy prospect. I could not die—there must be twenty dreary years presumably before I could hope for that. What could I do? In the gloom and lonesomeness of my own room I came at length to the conclusion that there was one thing in the world by which I might earn a living. I was unfit, I knew, for all the pursuits which are generally considered appropriate for college men. But at least, I thought, I might learn to cobble shoes.

"You laugh," the editor concluded, "but to me it was the solemnest decision of my life. And actually I was on my way to apprentice myself to a cobbler when an accident threw me in the way of a job in a newspaper office and a wise and friendly doctor, both at once. That accident saved my life. But for that you might have added me to your three men named Jones."

Fifty-odd years ago three members of the graduating class of a small Eastern college died in the summer following graduation. In preparing for life they had worked themselves to death. The next autumn that college established a course in physical instruction as a regular part of its curriculum, the first course of its kind in any American educational institution. Since that day colleges have fitted men well to bear the burden of their years of preparation; but between the college life and business life of many men is a chasm which has yet to be bridged.

Perhaps it is too much to ask the colleges to bridge it. They cannot be expected to reproduce in their sequestered environments the jarring atmosphere of metropolitan life. They cannot build a trestle and run elevated trains back and forth all night above the dormitory roofs, nor have telephones jangling at the elbow of each student throughout the recitation period. But some things the colleges might do.

They might, for instance, give their young men to understand that the same body under different conditions needs different kinds of food; that the same diet which will keep a man feeling fit when he is spending two hours a day on the football field will load his system needlessly when the same two hours are spent on a high-legged stool. He might be instructed in the kind of exercise that is possible for a man who has no time for gymnasiums or to whom gymnasium fees are a golden impossibility.

He might be told the secret that success in business is not so much to the swift as to the steady; that business life is a Marathon, not a sprint. It might be worth while, even, to include in the curriculum the story of that Jones of former days. I mean that exceedingly successful man who, checking over his accounts late one night, said to himself, "I will tear down my barns and build greater."

It is reported of that man also that his friends, meeting each other the next morning, asked wonderingly, "What has become of Jones?"

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BY THE WAY

The population of Bridgeport, Connecticut, is estimated to have increased during the present year by about 35,000—growing from 115,000 to 150,000. Twenty thousand persons are said to be employed in Bridgeport by one concern, in three shifts of eight hours each. This phenomenal activity is the result of "war business."

In the "Automobile Trade Journal" for December are shown pictures of 316 pleasure cars of different manufacturers, and 303 commercial cars—an impressive exhibit of the activity of this branch of industry. Curiously, the highest-priced pleasure car is not the powerful and flexible new twelve-cylinder, but the old reliable four-cylinder; in fact, the four-cylinder cars include both the lowest-priced—$435—and the highest-priced car—$7,800.

For two centuries the world's fur dealers have gone to London to buy furs at the auctions held there. Latterly, it is said, sixty per cent of these dealers have been Germans. Naturally, they are not going to London this year. A movement has been started to make New York City the center of this trade, and in January auctions will be held in New York which will be attended, it is expected, by merchants from all over the world.

A popular actress says that the occupants of the best seats at the theater are usually very chary of giving applause to actors, though this recognition is absolutely necessary if they are to do their best. On one occasion, however, she says, a lady who occupied a two-dollar seat was sufficiently demonstrative. The play included a scene in which the hero had to be very brutal to the heroine. At this point the lady in question "rose and hurled a five-pound box of candy at the actor, striking him in the back and knocking him off his feet amid a shower of chocolates." "Now we don't like to receive our candy in that way," concludes the author of this plea for applause.

"At a certain hour in some country districts," says the "American Agriculturist," "the telephone rings five times. That is the news signal, and every interested subscriber takes down his receiver. Then the central operator gives the weather report, a condensed market summary, and the important news. It takes but a short time to give this information to every subscriber, and the line is tied up for only a few minutes."

A New York daily paper contains this unusual advertisement: "To be Sold—Castle, dating from the Twelfth Century; at Waterford, Ireland. Electric light and all modern conveniences. Capital hunting, shooting, fishing, and yachting. Address, etc." In an adjoining column an English estate of the same character is advertised, the ancient mansion also having been brought up to date. It is said that these fine old places are increasingly coming into the market.

W. L. George, writing in the "Atlantic" on "The Intelligence of Woman," pays this tribute to woman's logical faculty: "A singular and suggestive fact is that woman generally displays pitiless logic when she is dealing with things that she knows well. An expert housekeeper is the type, and there are no lapses in her argument with a tradesman."

The wax figures of the Eden Musée, which for a generation have delighted or horrified young New Yorkers, were recently sold at auction, the old-fashioned amusement-place having succumbed to the photo play and the uptown movement. Most of the figures brought about $10 each; a group, however, of "rulers of the world" brought $600.

"The tastes of the former owners of this old mansion were so perfect that nothing can be suggested to improve their work, and the present mistress declares that she regards herself only as the custodian of the house." The self-denial indicated in this extract from an article in "The House Beautiful" surely belongs to an exceptional woman. She is Miss Beatrice Herford (Mrs. Hayward), and her beautiful home is in Wayland, Massachusetts. Adjoining the old house, however, is a newly built miniature theater, and in this Mrs. Hayward has had a free hand, having done much of the work herself, for she is declared to be an excellent carpenter.

General Sherman's epigram, "War is hell," has an apt paraphrase in a personal letter recently received from a surgeon of the British forces in Flanders: "The war as I see it here in the trenches," he says, "may be summed up in three words—mud, blood, and blasphemy." The atmosphere of Flanders, it will be remembered by readers of "Tristram Shandy," is conducive to profanity—"Our armies swore terribly in Flanders," said Uncle Toby.

A picturesque figure long familiar in the National capital passed from the stage in the death of ex-Senator Cockrell, of Missouri, at the age of eighty-one. He was born in Missouri, and represented that State in the Senate for thirty years; in 1904 he was a strong candidate in the Democractic Convention for President, being the choice of the "silver" men. He served throughout the Civil War on the Confederate side, rising to the rank of brigadier-general. At the time of his death he was a member of the Ordnance Board.

Minneapolis reports a record sale of flour for the past three months—a total of 6,400,000 barrels shipped, more than a million barrels ahead of any other similar period. Figured out, this means a production of over two barrels every second of a working day.

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